

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Young Socialists launch recruitment drive

— PAGE 6

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60 NO. 30 SEPTEMBER 2, 1996

Youth on Cuba trip vow to tell truth about revolution

BY BRIAN TAYLOR
AND JACK WILLEY

HAVANA, Cuba — "I came to Cuba thinking I would see the past, but now I see that Cuba represents the future, and the future looks good," said Jacob Perasso. Dozens of other youth echoed his comments at the final session of the 1996 U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange, held here August 5 at the Convention Palace.

At this meeting, most of the youth on the trip vowed to go back to the United States and tell the truth about Cuba. After going through this experience many returned as supporters of the Cuban revolution saying things like, "I want to have in my country what you [Cubans] have accomplished." For most it was their first visit to the island.

Perasso was one among 144 young people from 26 states across the United States on a two-week trip that explored Santiago and Guantánamo, two eastern provinces. The trip — sponsored by the National Network

Continued on Page 11

Socialists hit the streets in campaign weekend

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In more than 20 cities across the country, socialist workers and youth hit the streets in a "campaigning for socialism" weekend August 10-11. Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign in Alabama, Iowa, New York, and Washington, D.C., took advantage of the special weekend to complete petitioning to put the socialist ticket of James Harris for president and Laura Garza for vice president on the ballot. Special celebrations in Illinois and Iowa that weekend welcomed Mark Curtis back to the class struggle (see articles on page 4). Curtis was recently paroled after seven and a half years in prison on frame-up charges.

Every branch of the Socialist Workers Party discussed and adopted goals for the weekend, including selling Pathfinder

Continued on Page 5

Clinton opens bipartisan attack on social security

Dole-Kemp posture as 'pro-growth' alternative

BY STEVE CLARK
AND MARTIN KOPPEL

Leading the bipartisan assault against a half century of social gains by working people, President William Clinton announced July 31 that he will sign the new "welfare reform" bill adopted by the U.S.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Congress. By eliminating federally guaranteed Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) and cutting off food stamps and Medicaid to many working people, Clinton is opening the battle to take back concessions codified in the Social Security Act, which was pushed through Congress in 1935 under the pressure of rising labor struggles.

In early August, Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole declared Jack Kemp his running mate, sounding a campaign theme of "economic growth" as an alternative to Clinton's "status quo" at a time of persistent job insecurity, declining real wages, and growing and unconcealable social inequality.

"Slow growth is America's number one economic problem," declared a Dole campaign memorandum issued a few days before the Kemp announcement was made. "America desperately needs new pro-growth policies to raise wages and secure the incomes of workers, now and in the next century."

The Republican ticket also paraded Blacks and women to the podium at its San



Militant/Craig Honts
August 2 demonstrators in Koreatown area of Los Angeles protest assaults on welfare and defend rights of immigrants.

the big majority of whom militantly oppose those democratic and civil rights. "And, I was invited here by my party to share my views with you because we are a big enough party...to disagree on individual issues and still work together for our common goal: restoring the American Dream."

Meanwhile, the "antiterrorist" campaign by U.S. big business and its government

Continued on Page 8

Eyewitness coverage of protests at Republican convention

— see page 7

TWA bomb fraud fizzles; safety is issue

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

NEW YORK — Nearly a month after the crash of TWA Flight 800 off the coast of Long Island, with half the plane and most of its contents recovered from the ocean floor, the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) and the FBI have not produced a single shred of evidence that points to a bombing of the plane. At the same time, investigators "have also begun to more strongly consider mechanical failure as a possible cause of the mid-air explosion of the Boeing 747-100 on July 17," reported a

front-page article in the August 9 *Seattle Times*.

The article, by the paper's aerospace reporter, Byron Acohido, was headlined "Mechanical failure eyed in probe of TWA crash" with the teaser "Possible structural problems, fuel leak get a closer look." The *Seattle Times*, published in Boeing's home turf, had run another front-page story July 27 on the Boeing 747 explosion near Madrid in the mid-1970s that led to discovery of fuel-system defects in the plane. That account included the otherwise virtually unreported notification by TWA 800 pilots of "an erratic fuel-flow gauge" just two minutes before the crash.

The July 27 story received scant attention in the media. The August 9 article has begun to get wider notice. It was reprinted in its entirety in the August 10 *Star-Ledger*, the main daily in Newark, New Jersey. Meanwhile, most big-business papers like the *New York Times* have moved their daily articles on the TWA investigation — which peddle the government/company "terrorist" scare campaign — from the front pages to inside sections.

Acohido reports that the TWA 800 crash may have been caused by "massive structural failure of the engines or fuselage, perhaps linked to an initial fire fed by leaking fuel." When investigators raised the right wing from the ocean floor, they found that

the engines were missing and that the engine attachment pins or fuse pins, all eight of them, were in place.

Weak fuse pins were the cause of an El Al 747 freighter crash in Amsterdam in 1992. The faulty pins caused the El Al jet's inboard right engine to break loose of the wing on take-off. The engine shot forward and to the right, knocking the right outboard engine off the wing as well. The jet smashed into a crowded 10-story apartment building.

"A nearly identical fatal crash of a China Airlines 747 freighter had occurred near Taipei, Taiwan, 10 months earlier," Acohido reported. Boeing subsequently developed corrosion-resistant fuse pins and designed a special bracket to more securely hold the engine to the wings. The company assigned special crews to travel around the world to begin strengthening 747 mounts. But older jets weren't top priority. According to NTSB vice-chairman Robert Francis, the 25-year-old TWA 800 plane hadn't yet had its mounts fully upgraded.

These are not the only problems with older 747 jets. According to Acohido, part of the structural frame, known as Section 41, has been a safety concern since the mid-1980s. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) ordered major strengthening of Section 41 frames when these planes reach

Continued on Page 12

Campaign to get the socialist alternative on the ballot!

Where we stand:

Alabama — petitioning completed
Colorado — on the ballot
District of Columbia — petitioning completed
Iowa — petitioning completed
Minnesota — petitioning completed
New Jersey — petitions submitted to state
New York — petitioning completed
Rhode Island — starts August 17
Utah — petitioning completed
Vermont — starts August 31
Washington — on the ballot

Volunteers are still needed to help with ballot drives in Rhode Island and Vermont. To help, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign in Boston, (617) 247-6772.

Mark Curtis: 'I'm glad to rejoin class struggle' — page 4



Strike paralyzes Buenos Aires

In a 24-hour strike on August 8, thousands of workers in major Argentine cities idled factories, paralyzed transportation, and left hospitals on emergency service only. Police dispersed strikers at five downtown squares in Buenos Aires, attacking some with truncheons, and detained 53 union activists who were setting up soup kitchens to feed striking workers. Bus, train, subway, and air transportation were sporadic due to the walk-out. According to the Associated Press, between 80 and 90 percent of workers stayed off their jobs in other large cities.

It was the fourth general strike the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has called against the austerity policies of Argentine president Carlos Menem, which have led to massive layoffs and unemployment exceeding 17 percent. The strike was called after the government announced cuts in family allowance benefits and new taxes on widely used meal vouchers.

Mexico gas blast kills 17

A chain of explosions at the state-owned PEMEX Cactus natural gas plant near the town of Reforma, Chiapas, killed at least 6 workers and injured 30 on July 26. Local officials put the number of those killed to 17. The facility is the largest natural gas plant in Mexico and one of the biggest in Latin America. The explosion flattened two plants that produce 30 percent of the country's natural gas. On Feb. 16, 1995, an explosion at another gas plant killed nine workers and injured many more. The Cactus plant had five serious accidents in the last 20 years, with the worst disaster in November 1984 in San Juanico that killed 410 people.

The explosion came as PEMEX announced a hefty profit increase. The *New York Times* reported the deadly catastrophe under the headline "Blast Mars Pemex's 22% Earnings Gain."

Colombia farmers in revolt

Small farmers protesting the eradication of their coca crops in Colombia's southern region of Putumayo have maintained a tense standoff with government forces since two farmers were killed and 26 people wounded in clashes in late July. The conflict flared up



Some 30,000 people hit the streets of Buenos Aires July 26 to protest government austerity policies (above). On August 8, hundreds of thousands struck across Argentina.

after military police hurled tear gas into a crowd of 8,000 people trying to take control of the airport at Puerto Asís in Putumayo, near the border with Ecuador. The farmers are angry because Colombian authorities began burning and spraying fields where coca was grown without offering the farmers support other than promises of low-interest loans to plant other crops.

Washington has been pressuring the Colombian government with threats of economic sanctions, alleging President Ernesto Samper has not taken harsh enough measures against cocaine trafficking. The White House "decertified" the Colombian government's antidrug program March 1, opening the possibility of sanctions. These could include tariffs of as much as 50 percent on goods imported from Colombia and cancellation of flights to Miami or New York by Avianca, the main Colombian airline.

Paris pushes social cuts

The French government announced plans August 7 to slash spending on social programs by \$12 billion. The prime minister's

office said it had set this "unprecedented" objective to achieve a spending freeze in 1997. Paris says this is necessary to meet the Maastricht criteria for the European Union common currency. French budget minister Alain Lamassoure, said the cuts would mean a reduction of 6,500-7,000 public sector workers. Last fall, hundreds of thousands took to the streets to protest similar cuts, pushing back the government's plans. The *Financial Times* of London reported nervousness in big-business circles that this year's cuts will spark similar protests.

Chechens ruin Yeltsin inaugural

In the largest rebel offensive in five months, fighting continued between Chechen guerrillas and Russian occupation forces in the capital city of Grozny. Chechen forces, which have been fighting for their nation's independence for three years, took control of the city August 7. They captured two major militia stations, key roads, a rail terminal, and the central telephone exchange, and besieged the fortified headquarters of the Russian-installed authorities. The Moscow daily *Izvestia* reported that Grozny was practically controlled by pro-independence forces. According to Russian military officials, the Chechen fighters were aided by local sympathizers and defectors from police units of the pro-Moscow government.

Moscow resumed its assault on Chechnya less than a week after Russian president Boris Yeltsin was re-elected June 16, breaking the election campaign cease-fire. Ending the unpopular war was a cornerstone of Yeltsin's campaign, which was backed by Washington. Moscow was put on the defensive by the Chechen counterblow, which put a severe tarnish on Yeltsin's August 9 inauguration. "The Russians should know that the war is not over," rebel leader Modlavi Udugov declared on television.

Israeli gov't OKs settlements

On August 2 the Israeli government lifted a four-year freeze on expanding Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Newly elected prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu said his government was implementing its policy of "consolidating and developing the settlement enterprise." Nabil Abu Rdainah, spokesperson for Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, responded, "This decision is a violation of the agreements. They are endangering the whole peace process." Palestinian legislator Hatem Abdel-Kader said the decision "means that the people will no longer accept the peace process and will express their frustration on the streets."

Workers win strikes in S. Africa

After a week-long strike in Johannesburg, 80,000 South African textile workers returned to work August 7 having won a 9 percent pay raise. Miners also returned to work at the Rustenburg platinum mines, the world's largest, after Anglo American corporation dismissed all 28,000 workers. The strikers were demanding repayment of their income tax and unemployment fund contributions. The average level of wage settlements per year increased in 1995 for the first time since 1992. Annual rounds of wage talks are in full swing for other industries.

Clinton signs Iran sanctions

Under the banner of fighting "terrorism," U.S. president William Clinton signed legislation August 5 imposing economic sanctions on companies that make \$40 million or more in new investments in Iranian or Libyan oil and gas development. The law, which requires the president to impose two from a list of seven sanctions including denial of U.S. markets, has drawn sharp criticism from governments in Europe.

Italian, German, French, Spanish, British and Austrian oil companies all have large investments in Libya, a major supplier of light crude oil for European consumers. The French firm Total has been active in both Libya and Iran. Bonn and Paris immediately condemned the measure and government representatives at a June meeting of the European Union declared the right to retaliate if Washington tried to punish companies doing business with Iran or Libya.

Texas court shifts voting districts

A federal court redrew nearly half the congressional districts in Texas August 7, ordering new elections in November. The court ruled that three predominantly Black and Latino districts were drawn with too much weight given to race. It decreed new district boundaries, seven in Houston and six in Dallas, and threw out the June primary election results. Nearly one-third of the state's voters could be affected. Two months earlier, in a blow to voting rights, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled as unconstitutional the 12th Congressional District in North Carolina, a majority Black voting district.

— MEGAN ARNEY

THE MILITANT

Fight Clinton's assault on Social Security

Clinton's decision to sign the new bill ending "welfare as we know it" represents the first major assault on entitlements working people won as part of the 1935 Social Security Act. Thousands are protesting this bipartisan onslaught across the U.S. The 'Militant' brings you the news. Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

PHONE _____

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Vol. 60/No. 30

Closing news date: August 15, 1996

Editor: NAOMI CRAINE

Business Manager: MAURICE WILLIAMS

Editorial Staff: Megan Arney, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Brian Taylor, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and three weeks in July by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311,2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

The Militant can be accessed on the internet at:

gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/pubs/militant

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America,

Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland: £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East: £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. Pacific Islands: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

São Paulo Forum meets in El Salvador

Delegates debate socialist revolution vs. reforming bourgeois democracy

BY AARON RUBY
AND SETH GALINSKY

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Political parties from across Latin America and the Caribbean met here July 26-29 for the sixth meeting of the São Paulo Forum. This year's event was hosted by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The first such gathering was held in 1990 in São Paulo, Brazil, at the initiative of the Workers Party (PT) in that country. Subsequent conferences took place in Mexico City; Managua, Nicaragua; Havana, Cuba; and Montevideo, Uruguay.

About 500 people participated in the conference, including 187 delegates representing 52 member groups in Latin America and the Caribbean and 289 invited guests from 144 organizations. In addition, 44 observers representing 35 organizations in the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa attended.

The two largest delegations were from the FMLN of El Salvador and the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) of Mexico. José Ramón Balaguer, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, headed the delegation from that country. Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, former presidential candidate of Brazil's PT, attended. There were also delegations from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, the Broad Front of Uruguay, and the New Independence Movement of Puerto Rico. Retired colonel Hugo Chávez, who led an unsuccessful revolt by a section of the military in Venezuela in 1992, came for the first time.

No delegates came from the English speaking Caribbean.

Some 60 observers from the United States attended, organized mostly by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). It was the largest U.S. delegation to any of these gatherings. The political organizations represented were the Committees of Correspondence, Democratic Socialists of America, Freedom Road Socialist, and Socialist Workers Party.

Other observers included the governing parties of China, Korea, Vietnam, and Laos; the Communist Party of Japan; and the Pan African Movement of Uganda. Representatives of the Basque nationalist party, Herri Batasuna, attended despite opposition by the Communist Party of Spain.

As during previous gatherings two distinct political courses were represented in

the discussion. One was advocated by procapitalist forces such as the PRD of Mexico that orient to electoral contests in the hopes of taking over the reins of capitalist government. The other was a socialist perspective most clearly presented by delegates of the Communist Party of Cuba.

About 4,000 people, mostly FMLN supporters, attended the inaugural event, held in the National Gymnasium here. While the event welcomed the delegates and guests to the São Paulo Forum it also had the atmosphere of an election campaign rally. Participants waved FMLN flags, and many sported hats that said "FMLN ready for 1997," referring to next year's municipal elections in this country.

The opening speaker was FMLN general coordinator Salvador Sánchez Cerén who stated that "The fight against the [U.S.] blockade of Cuba is the struggle for the sovereignty of our peoples."

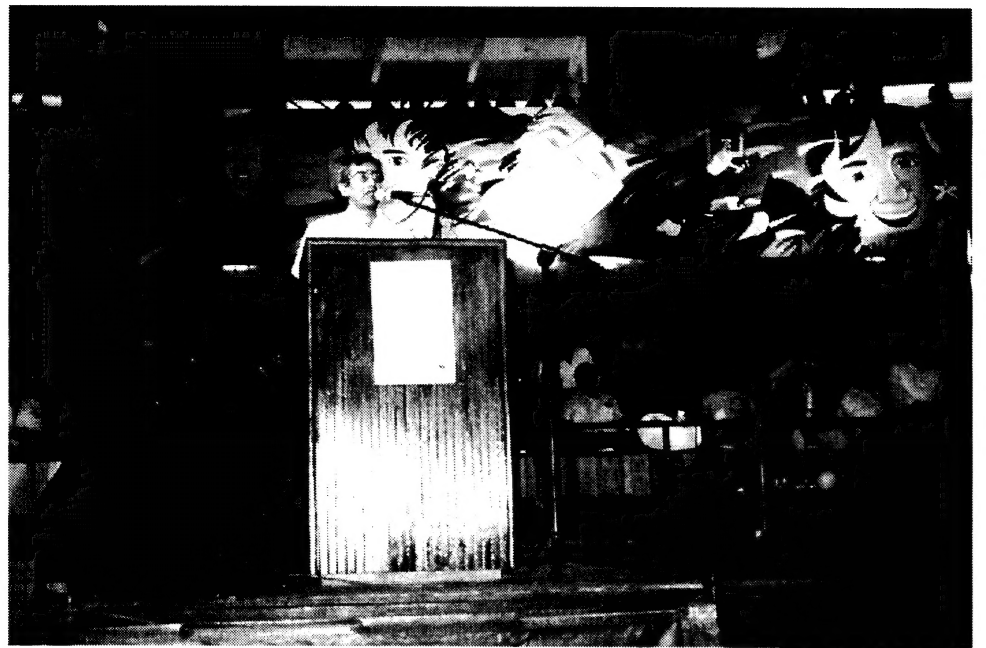
Sánchez Cerén also put forward his view that the road to progress in El Salvador was to reach out to all social classes. He particularly emphasized a recent call by the National Association of Private Enterprise in El Salvador for *concertación*, that is a pact of collaboration between the employers and organizations that claim to speak for the workers.

A similar view was expressed by other speakers at the event. "In Mexico the first step towards democratization has been taken," said Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, speaking for the PRD. "We're heading toward a true equilibrium of power."

"We need to look at the spectrum of alliances that will allow us to go to the voting booth and have the votes to defeat the oligarchs of the continent" and to fight against neoliberalism, he stated, referring to capitalist government policies that remove protectionist measures and open up semicolonial economies to freer imperialist investment.

A different view on how to face the economic catastrophe facing working people in Latin America and the Caribbean was put forward by José Ramón Balaguer, who addressed the rally on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. He began by noting the Cubans' "deep emotion" at being able to greet the Salvadoran fighters and their supporters who fought the U.S.-backed regimes there to a standstill for more than a decade.

Thousands of wounded FMLN fighters received medical treatment in Cuba during



José Ramón Balaguer of Communist Party of Cuba speaking at the opening ceremony of the São Paulo Forum in San Salvador, July 26. Militant/Seth Galinsky

El Salvador's civil war. The Cubans also played an important role in helping to unite guerrilla groups that led to the formation of the FMLN in the early 1980s. The FMLN is now a legal political party. It won a large number of seats in El Salvador's parliament, after the signing of a peace agreement with the government in 1991.

Balaguer pointed out that the "gap between the rich and poor countries and the chasm between a small super-privileged elite and the great majority of the world population" is growing.

"North American imperialism has not ceased being imperialist," he said.

Balaguer noted that the opening of the sixth gathering of the Forum was being held on the 43rd anniversary of the attack on the Moncada army barracks in Cuba by fighters of the July 26 movement in 1953. That battle initiated the revolutionary war that led to the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista six years later. "With the victory on Jan. 1, 1959, for the first time in our homeland, political power was taken by and for the people and with it sovereignty, independence and social justice," Balaguer said.

In face of the deepening world economic crisis, which hit Cuba particularly hard after the collapse of aid and trade in favorable terms with the Soviet Union, Balaguer said

that "only socialism and the decisive participation of the people in its construction and defense has permitted us to resist and dodge the difficulties."

"Not one school or hospital has been closed, no children or senior citizens have been abandoned," the Cuban leader noted. This stands in a sharp contrast to the growing economic and social calamity facing workers and farmers in the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Balaguer reported on the recent accomplishments in the fight to reverse the post-1989 decline of agricultural and industrial production in Cuba. The country's gross national product grew by 9.6 percent in the first half of 1996, he said, and sugar production rose by 35 percent over the previous year's harvest. Cuba is also on course to attain a historic high for both nickel and oil production this year, aiming for 50,000 and 1.5 million tons, respectively.

Participants at the Forum universally condemned the so-called Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, also referred to as Helms-Burton law, which President William Clinton signed March 12 significantly tightening the U.S. embargo. Most speakers focused their remarks on the aspects of the legislation that violate the sovereignty of other nations in Latin America, by threatening sanctions against those who do business with Cuba.

During the plenary session, Balaguer said that his party greatly appreciated the opposition to U.S. attempts to extend its embargo but pointed out that the tightening of the economic squeeze by Washington is aimed above all at weakening and overturning the socialist revolution in Cuba.

"Cuba is the banner of the Forum," read the headline in the July 27 *El Diario de Hoy*, one of El Salvador's two main daily papers. The article noted the enthusiastic applause that every mention of Cuba and opposition to Helms-Burton law drew at the event.

La Prensa Gráfica, the other main daily here, however, emphasized the views of the majority of delegates. This year's São Paulo Forum represents a step forward for those pushing to reform capitalism, the paper said in an editorial. "It's great that they speak of democracy and not of revolution; it's great that they accept that you must generate wealth, instead of going around thinking about distributing it."

"But it's bad that they so viciously attack neoliberalism."

What is road to power?

While much of the discussion over the differing perspectives never reached the floor of the plenary sessions, the debate was heated at times in the workshops.

Two competing written statements were circulated at the workshop on the Forum's main document.

Mario Saucedo Perez, general secretary of the Mexican PRD at the time of the forum, circulated a document titled "Twelve Theses on Democratic Change and Latin American and Caribbean Integration."

"The solution to the economic, political and moral crisis of our countries resides in democratic change that permits the establishment of pluralist and representative gov-

Continued on Page 12

Young activists meet in El Salvador to discuss struggle against imperialism

BY CARLOS CORNEJO

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — "Long Live the peoples of the world!" shouted some 100 youth who participated in the First Encounter of Latin American and Caribbean Youth. The meeting took place here July 24 on the eve of the Sixth São Paulo Forum.

The gathering was organized by the Youth of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (JFMLN). Representatives from the JFMLN, student, women's rights, and environmental organizations as well as other Salvadoran political groups participated. Organizations and individuals from another 15 countries attended — including from Colombia, Guatemala, Venezuela, Denmark, Germany, Japan, the United States, and Canada. The majority of participants were students.

Alfredo Leiba, a central leader of the JFMLN, said in a speech that the event provided a way to "get to know more revolutionary youth from Latin America who know how to stand up against the injustices committed in the world."

Discussion centered on the deteriorating social and economic conditions facing working people, and especially youth, in the Americas and on the resistance to these calamities caused by a capitalist system in decline and imperialist domination.

"The capitalists are only interested in having zombies go to work in the factories, both physically and spiritually malnourished," said a representative of the Student Law

Association of the National University of El Salvador. "We should show we are capable of fighting." Later, this same delegate spoke about the struggle by university students to free four young people who have been jailed on charges of "terrorism."

This sparked a lot of discussion, especially informally during breaks, on what position should be taken toward the four youth. Some participants thought it was not a good idea to be associated with people committing "terrorist" acts. Others argued young people should throw their support unequivocally behind those victimized by the government for resisting capitalist austerity, even if the methods used may not be the best.

Participants broke into workshops to exchange opinions and experiences after an initial plenary session. In one workshop, Berny Motto of the JFMLN said that the democratic space that exists in El Salvador today is simply due to the fact that the rulers were not being able to crush the peoples' resistance during the 12 years of civil war. Most young people from El Salvador agreed with this assessment and gave examples of ongoing protests against privatizations, low wages, and cuts in education funding and other social programs.

During the final plenary session, many delegates proposed including a message of solidarity with the Cuban revolution in the encounter's final declaration. Several spoke of the importance of the upcoming 43rd an-

niversary of the assault on the Moncada barracks by the combatants of Cuba's July 26 Movement on July 26, 1953. A number of delegates described activities they helped organized in their countries against Washington's escalating economic war on the Cuban people.

Lina Ross Berrio of the World Federation of Democratic Youth officially invited everyone present to participate and help build the World Festival of Students and Youth, which will take place in Cuba July 28 - August 5, 1997. The worldwide gathering will be hosted by the Union of Young Communists, the Federation of University Students, and other youth organizations in Cuba. It will coincide with an international trade union conference on the Caribbean island hosted by the Central Organization of Cuban Workers.

The call to support and build the youth festival was included in the final declaration delegates adopted, which was read at the gathering of the São Paulo Forum a few days later.

The declaration also proposed to begin a workshop devoted to struggles of young people around the world at the next meeting of the Forum, and to declare the month of July "Latin American and Caribbean Youth Month."

Carlos Cornejo from Montreal, Quebec, participated in the youth encounter as a delegate representing the Young Socialists.

Curtis: 'Glad to return to class struggle'

Meetings in Chicago, Des Moines celebrate victory in eight-year fight

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

CHICAGO — "Since June 18, the day I walked out of prison, everything I have done has been leading toward this day. Today, you are welcoming me back to the class struggle. What else can I say except, 'I've been waiting a long time for this: Bring it on!'"

With these opening words, Mark Curtis, recently released from the Iowa State Penitentiary after serving seven and half years behind bars, addressed a crowd of 70 people here. Curtis, who was a unionist and member of the Socialist Workers Party in Des Moines, Iowa, was framed-up in 1988 and sentenced to 25 years for rape and burglary — crimes he did not commit.

The celebration of his parole to Illinois was held at the Pathfinder Bookstore and was co-hosted by Linda Jenness, the former secretary of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and David Marshall, a leader of the SWP branch in Peoria, Illinois, and member of the United Paperworkers International Union.

Under a banner entitled, "Mark, welcome back to the class struggle," Jenness opened the meeting by pointing out that the defense committee "is no more, because we don't need one. Mark is a free man."

"I felt welcomed back today," said Curtis, "when I spent a full afternoon of campaigning for socialism, going out to Pilsen [a predominantly Mexican working-class neighborhood] where I sold my first copy of *Perspectiva Mundial* since getting out of prison." Curtis and many of the others present had participated earlier that day in the national "campaigning for socialism" weekend called by supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign. A number of participants headed straight to St. Louis after the Chicago event, in order to take part in a support rally for the strikers at McDonnell Douglas the next day.

'Once again with the working class'

"I am once again with my class, the working class and will be going through many experiences with them again," said Curtis. He described how he had been working at a union-organized plant in the Chicago area for the last month. "One of the first political discussions I've had at work," said Curtis, "is over this past Thursday's arrest by the INS of over 40 immigrant workers at an electronics factory." On Friday there were two more Immigration and Naturalization Service raids of industries where another 44 immigrant workers were rounded up.

Curtis said he has joined the local committee organizing participation in a national demonstration in Washington D.C. on October 12 to protest the attacks on immigrant rights, "attacks much accelerated under the current Clinton administration. In a way it's like coming full circle," he said. At the time of his frame-up, Curtis was involved in a fight to defend 17 of his co-workers from Mexico and El Salvador who had been arrested in an immigration raid at the Swift meatpacking plant.

Curtis was joined at the celebration by several other speakers.

"Tonight, we celebrate Mark's release because now he can join in the struggle along with a new generation of dangerous young men and women," said Tom Alter, a leader of the Young Socialists in Chicago and

member of the YS national steering committee. "Most of the young fighters in our organization never met Mark, but learned more about the class struggle by learning about his case."

Alter pointed to how a previous defense case helped forge an earlier generation of young revolutionists. In 1963, three members of the Young Socialist Alliance in Bloomington, Indiana, were charged with sedition under the state laws for attending a speech on the fight for Black rights by Leroy McRae, the YSA national organizational secretary. The previous fall, the young socialists had also been active in defense of the Cuban revolution during the Cuban Missile Crisis. "Cases like these help us learn that the state takes us more seriously than we sometimes take ourselves," Alter said. "It's a lesson that you are dangerous to this system if you stand up in defense of the Cuban revolution, for Black rights, for immigrant rights."

Political Rights Defense Fund

John Studer, who had been the coordinator of Curtis's defense committee and is the executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, Inc. (PRDF), said that the files of the MCDC would soon be ready to ship to the State Historical Society in Madison, Wisconsin. This institution will preserve the collection, making the record and lessons of the eight-year fight available for activists and political researchers. The State Historical Society has one of the best collections of socialist and labor material in the country.

Studer explained that PRDF, which backed Curtis's case from the beginning, will be prepared to help with any further legal costs Curtis faces during his parole. Participants at the meeting gave more than \$1,200 to PRDF. The Political Rights Defense Fund was founded in 1973 in response to a lawsuit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance challenging the decades-long campaign of the FBI and other government agencies to spy on, harass, and disrupt the two socialist groups. Since then, PRDF has played an important role in taking up additional cases, including the 11-year case to defend Hector Marroquin, a Mexican socialist who had been ordered deported by the INS because of his political views.

Naomi Craine spoke on behalf of the SWP National Committee. Craine is also editor of the *Militant* newspaper and author of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Why Is Mark Curtis still in prison?*

Craine pointed out that the struggles Curtis was involved in at the time he went to prison have become sharper in the years since. He rejoins his party in the class struggle at a time when new explosive developments in world politics can be expected. "This is what Mark was preparing for the whole time he was in jail," she said. "When revolutionists are imprisoned, they are separated from directly doing political work with their class. But they are always preparing to rejoin the struggle."

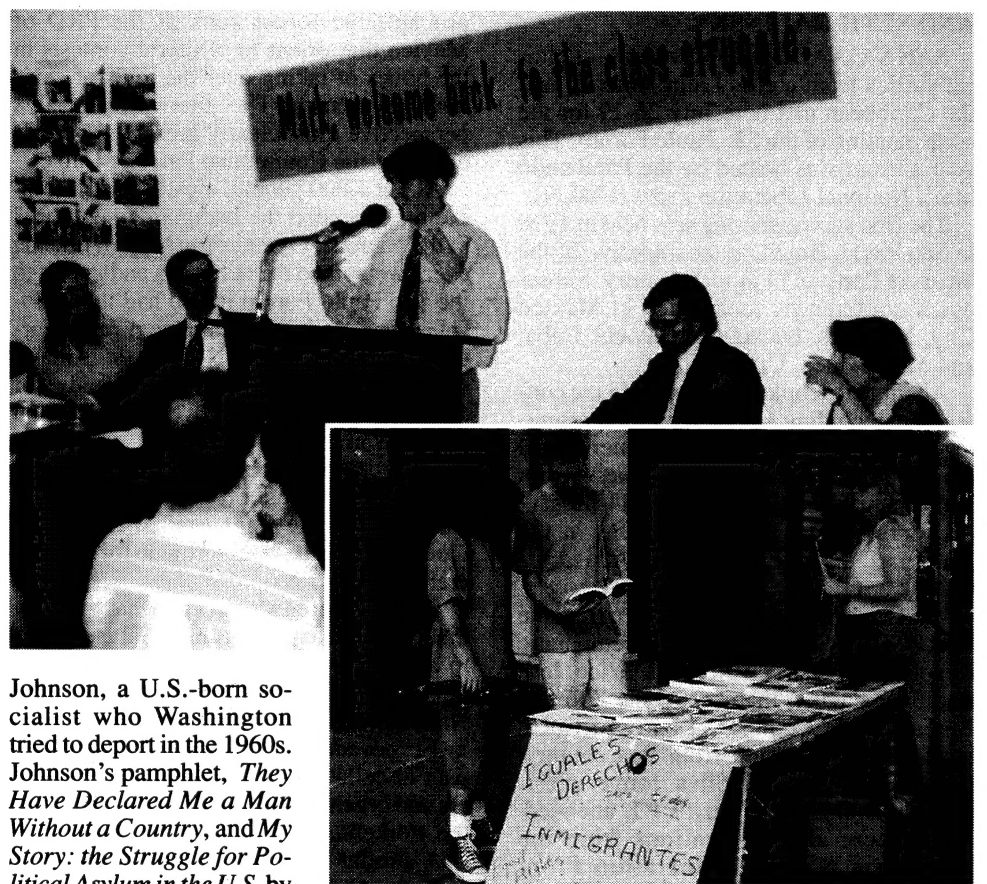
In his talk, Curtis emphasized that he came out of prison stronger. "I went in a communist and I came out one too, a stronger one in fact, due to the collaboration with the SWP, my studies of the books published by Pathfinder, reading the *Militant* regularly, and holding discussion groups with other prisoners interested in these ideas."

Pamphlet tells chapter in class struggle

Craine announced that Pathfinder will soon publish a new, updated edition of the pamphlet that tells the story of Curtis' fight. "Like other materials produced in the defense of communist fighters, it has a lasting value as an educational tool that tells a chapter in the class struggle," she said.

Other such materials currently in print include *Socialism on Trial*, which explains the basic ideas of socialism through testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the SWP charged with sedition during World War II; *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, which tells the story of James Kutcher's successful eight-year fight to win back his government job from the witchhunters; and *FBI on Trial*, the story of the SWP's victory against government spying.

Craine also pointed to the case of Joe



Johnson, a U.S.-born socialist who Washington tried to deport in the 1960s. Johnson's pamphlet, *They Have Declared Me a Man Without a Country*, and *My Story: the Struggle for Political Asylum in the U.S.* by Hector Marroquin were reproduced for the celebration. Participants bought 10 copies.

Displays on the wall highlighted these cases and earlier ones, such as the defense campaigns led by the International Labor Defense in the mid-1920s and the Cologne Trial of 1852, a fight Karl Marx and Frederick Engels waged against the political police of their time after the 1848-49 revolutions.

Kitty Leopker, a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 16 in Granite City, Illinois, and Frankie Travis, a labor activist and former locked-out A.E. Staley worker in Decatur, gave greetings welcoming Curtis back to the struggle.

Several messages celebrating Curtis's victory were read at the meeting, including from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee; framed up miners Roger Warren and Tim Bettger, from Yellowknife, Northwest Territories in Canada; and Edith Ballantyne, from the international office of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In the meeting, the co-hosts recognized several fighters in the audience, including Luis Galarza, a leader of the Chicago Cuba Coalition and Puerto Rican activist; Mary Johnson, a long-time fighter against police brutality and member of executive board of the Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty; and Joanne Patterson, mother of Aaron Patterson, a frame-up victim who is on death row in Illinois.

Craine closed the meeting by thanking all those who supported Curtis's fight over the years. "I especially salute those who are not members of the communist movement, but who staunchly fought to bring about this day, when Mark could rejoin his party and his class in the struggle he was temporarily separated from."

BY SHIRLEY PEÑA

DES MOINES, Iowa — Twenty-seven supporters of Mark Curtis' fight against imprisonment on framed-up rape and burglary charges met at the Pathfinder bookstore here August 10 to celebrate the victory of his release on parole. Included in the crowd were seven current or recent packinghouse workers.

The meeting was opened by Bill Kalman, a rail worker and chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party in Des Moines. Kalman, explained, "During the time of Mark's imprisonment, we probably held a few dozen meetings on the 'Curtis case.' But tonight's meeting is different. Tonight we're celebrating the fact that our eight year fight has paid off, because tonight Mark Curtis is back among us, back among his class as an active participant in working-class politics."

The meeting's theme, welcoming a working-class fighter back to the struggle, was echoed in the message sent to the meeting by Matt Morrison, a supporter of the Irish

freedom struggle who resides in St. Louis. Morrison is currently fighting against efforts by the Clinton administration to deport him back to prison in Northern Ireland. "Your celebration tonight is a celebration for the individual and also for the struggle of which he is, of which you are, an integral part of," he wrote.

The speakers platform included several Iowa activists who had been partisans of the fight to free Curtis from prison since the early stages of the defense campaign. Hazel Zimmerman, a member of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee since its founding in the days following Curtis's arrest in 1988, said, "When the defense committee was first formed, those that you might think would support him couldn't bring themselves to acknowledge that frame-ups and cop beatings occur. But workers and fighters, especially in Cuba and in the ANC [African National Congress], understood. And they never flinched throughout the eight years."

Following Zimmerman's presentation, Kalman introduced several in the audience who had actively supported Curtis throughout his fight. These included Roxanne Gould, a Native American activist from Sioux City; UAW Local 270 president Harold Ruggless; and Cleve Andrew Pulley, a steward in UFCW Local 1149 and member of the Iowa Network on Cuba.

As Larry Ginter, a hog farmer and long-time political activist got up to address the crowd of trade unionists, youth, and immigrant workers he commented, "It makes me feel good to just come into this room — into a room of fighters. This room reflects what Mark is all about." He described his recent victory over an attempt by state officials to force him to tear down a sign protesting factory hog farms.

Another farm activist, Merle Hansen, sent a message saying, "If our government is able to get away with framing one person, we are all in peril of getting framed."

Don Barrell, a former Des Moines Firestone striker, now back at work in the plant wrote, "I believe what gave Mark strength was the supporters around him. I believe Mark is a people person and will continue to fight for people's rights whether it's against the government or a large corporation. I'm glad Mark is out."

Former packing house worker David Ochoa, who had traveled to Ft. Madison to greet Curtis on his release from prison, also addressed the crowd.

Young Socialist member Gabe Siert, from Sioux City, conveyed greetings from another Iowa YS member, Charlton Pulley, who was unable to attend because he was in New York helping the Socialist Workers candidates get on the ballot. At the end of Pulley's message, which encourage other

Continued on Page 5

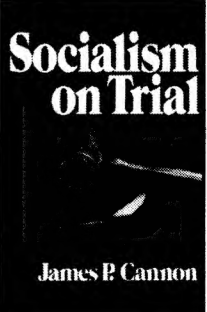
For further reading from Pathfinder

Socialism on Trial

James P. Cannon

The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party charged with sedition during World War II. \$15.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.



SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

Continued from front page

books, the *Militant*, and the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*; petitioning where there are drives to get on the ballot; and joining the effort of the Young Socialists to recruit rebel-minded youth to the YS.

One young volunteer who helped socialist campaigners in Washington, D.C., go over the top in their petition drive decided to join the YS over the weekend.

In San Diego, where protests were heating up in preparation for the Republican convention, socialist campaigners began keeping count as of Thursday, August 8. By Saturday, they had sold 22 Pathfinder books and pamphlets, 44 single copies of the *Militant*, 2 *Militant* subscriptions, and 2 *Perspectiva Mundial* subs. The next day, campaigners sold another 30 single copies of the *Militant* at a picket line by the NASSCO strikers and at an AFL-CIO picnic.

Campaigners in New York had a banner weekend, selling 53 books through the Man-

hattan Pathfinder bookstore and the teams organized out of it, and another 23 in Brooklyn. Amy Husk from Manhattan reports, "Over the several week petitioning campaign, dozens of young people have signed up for more information on the socialist campaign and the Young Socialists. Some of them have attended classes being held every week on what socialists stand for."

The campaigning weekend in Iowa "began with a petition team to the Des Moines farmers market at 7:00 a.m.," writes Bill Kalman. "A team from St. Paul, Minnesota, campaigned in Waterloo, Iowa, where the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been making raids at the IBP packinghouse and arresting immigrants."

Several campaign supporters who attended the meeting in Des Moines celebrating Mark Curtis's release joined in completing the petition effort the next day. "Sales for the two days included 17 copies of the *Militant*, one subscription, and five Pathfinder titles. Five was our Pathfinder goal

for the weekend," said Kalman.

Campaign supporters in Chicago sold 21 Pathfinder books and three subscriptions each to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* over the weekend.

Socialist workers included visits to independent bookstores in a sales team to Asheville, North Carolina. These netted orders for 23 Pathfinder books. The team "also set up a book table downtown. No books were sold off the table, but four people bought catalogs," writes Jim Rogers. One copy of *New International* was sold off a table at a flea market in Eden, North Carolina, a town with several unionized textile mills.

Monthly sales of books from Pathfinder Bookstores

Countries Cities	July			Previous months		
	Goal	Sold	%Sold	June	May	April
AUSTRALIA	36	19	53%	94%	58%	81%
CANADA						
Toronto	90	71	79%	70%	128%	78%
Montreal	72	69	96%	89%	56%	82%
Vancouver	32	3	9%	69%	94%	111%
Canada Total	194	143	74%	69%	86%	77%
Goal/Should be	194	194	100%	100%	100%	100%
NEW ZEALAND						
Christchurch	32	12	38%	100%	118%	106%
Auckland	65	31	48%	83%	105%	148%
NZ Total	97	43	44%	88%	109%	136%
Goal/Should be	97	97	100%	100%	100%	
SWEDEN						
Stockholm	40	52	130%	188%	123%	
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	95	115	121%	104%	173%	
Manchester*	46	0	0%	104%	65%	
Sheffield*	14	0	0%	0%	21%	
UK Total	155	115	74%	95%	65%	
UNITED STATES						
Twin Cities	86	91	106%	50%	79%	74%
Washington, D.C.	54	55	102%	135%	80%	111%
Peoria	27	25	93%	78%	96%	50%
Greensboro	41	33	80%	66%	122%	44%
Los Angeles	120	88	73%	80%	80%	258%
Salt Lake City	50	36	72%	40%	80%	44%
Miami	45	31	69%	100%	91%	55%
Detroit	77	53	69%	78%	64%	96%
Chicago	137	87	64%	100%	61%	79%
Atlanta	48	30	63%	100%	79%	154%
New York	175	103	59%	31%	42%	58%
Brooklyn	165	93	56%	36%	68%	98%
San Francisco	95	49	52%	71%	74%	89%
Philadelphia	63	30	48%	32%	57%	48%
Birmingham	65	28	43%	43%	25%	58%
Boston	65	26	40%	66%	172%	60%
Houston	48	17	35%	33%	62%	91%
Seattle	80	28	35%	34%	58%	79%
Pittsburgh	63	17	27%	16%	54%	79%
Morgantown	32	8	25%	13%	19%	106%
Newark	171	35	20%	16%	49%	58%
Cleveland*	50	0	0%	88%	80%	78%
Des Moines*	45	0	0%	40%	44%	64%
U.S. Total	1802	963	53%	52%	66%	90%
Goal/Should be	1800	1800	100%	100%	100%	100%

* No new report

This week the *Militant* begins presenting monthly charts on the campaign by socialists around the world to significantly increase the sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets by Pathfinder to workers and youth.

This week's chart reports July sales through Pathfinder bookstores — including sales on the job to fellow unionists, in Pathfinder bookstores, from literature tables on street corners, at political events, and on the picket lines. Socialists in each city should send in figures to the *Militant* by 10 a.m. on the first Monday of each month. Statistics for August sales are due

by Monday, September 2. A new feature of the chart beginning next month will be the total number of books sold to fellow workers on the job in each city, in addition to the separate table showing books sold on the job in each national industrial union.

A second monthly chart and article will report on sales in each region to other independent bookstores, college outlets, libraries, and retail chains.

Militant readers are encouraged to send in reports any time of the month. It is often best to write down an experience immediately after the sale and get it into the *Militant* right away. — N.C.

CAMPAIGNING FOR THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE IN 1996

Petitioning builds socialist campaign

This week supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of James Harris for U.S. president and Laura Garza for vice president scored a big victory by completing petitioning drives to place the candidates on the ballot in Alabama, Iowa, New York, and Washington, D.C. A team of full-time volunteers is needed for petitioning drives in Rhode Island and Vermont. (See ad on front page.)

BY AMY HUSK
ANDELEANOR GARCIA

NEW YORK — Eighty supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of James Harris and Laura Garza went well over the top in their drive to place the candidates on the ballot here, collecting 7,000 signatures the October 10-11 weekend alone. A total of 23,895 people signed up to place Harris and Garza on the ballot, along with 5,438 for laid-off auto worker Eleanor Garcia in the 12th Congressional District.

The weekend began with TV Channel 9, a major station in the area, filming the start of the petitioning day at the Manhattan campaign headquarters. The crew interviewed members of the Young Socialists and youth who had just returned from Cuba on the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange.

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Campaign supporters here have collected over 3,500 signatures for James Harris and Laura Garza and over 3,000 for Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for delegate to the House of Representatives, to be placed on the ballot.

A forum featuring the local socialist candidates August 10 was attended by several people new to the campaign, including a teacher who met one of the petitioners during the day at a local supermarket and a

worker from the Smithfield meatpacking plant. Also speaking at the forum was 24-year-old Allison Copeland, who first came in contact with the socialist campaign at a literature table several weeks ago.

BY NANCY BOYASKO

BIRMINGHAM — Supporters wrapped up petitioning to get James Harris and Laura Garza on the ballot in Alabama on Saturday, August 3. On that date 15 campaigners hit the streets and collected 566 signatures bringing the total number collected to 8,172. The biggest response campaigners received was to discussions taking up the attacks on welfare benefits and the bosses' profit drive around the TWA explosion.

Throughout the petition effort thousands of campaign statements were distributed taking up the burnings of Black churches, calling for U.S. troops out of the Middle East, supporting Irish independence, and backing the UAW workers on strike at Pemco. George Williams, a Socialist Workers candidate for congress, is one of the strikers.

BY JOE SWANSON

DES MOINES — Socialists went over the top here in the drive to put James Harris and Laura Garza on the ballot in Iowa, collecting the signatures of 1,898 people. Another 1,682 were collected for Shirley Peña, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate who is a member of the United Auto Workers union and a production line worker at Maytag. Over 400 signatures were collected to place Dick McBride on the ballot. McBride is a packinghouse worker running for U.S. Congress.

During the last weekend of petitioning activity, campaigners related a number of highlights. Former Firestone strikers, who have organized informational picket lines at the Iowa State Fair, signed the petitions of the socialist candidates and spent the time engaging in political discussion. Campaigners also met a student, majoring in agriculture, who expressed an interest in going to Cuba for next year's world youth festival.

BY PATTIE IYAMA

HOUSTON — Socialists here launched

SWP campaigns for U.S. Senate and Congress during the "Campaigning for Socialism" weekend. A petition drive was begun to place Jerry Freiworth, a refinery worker and a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, on the ballot for Congress in the 25th District, which is dotted with refineries and chemical plants.

The Texas socialists also announced the campaigns of Lea Sherman, an aerospace worker and member of the International Association of Machinists, for U.S. Senate, and Lieff Gutthudschmitt, a student at the University of Houston and a member of the Young Socialists, for Congress in the 29th C.D.

In early August a court re-drew boundary lines for every Houston congressional district, nullifying primaries and ordering special elections. This was a result of the reactionary U.S. Supreme Court decision against predominantly Black and Mexican-American districts in Texas and North Carolina.

Mark Curtis celebration in Iowa

Continued from Page 4

young fighters to see the lessons of the Curtis fight as a tool for winning young people to political struggle, Siert explained to the audience, "I haven't had the chance to meet Mark yet, but I feel that his struggle both inside and out of prison is inspiration to us."

The meeting ended with a presentation by Norton Sandler, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sandler, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee for several years, began by reading a message from Curtis that painted a picture of his return to political life in Chicago as a worker and political activist.

Sandler confirmed that it was not some "ultra-left, wild adventure" that landed Curtis in prison. Instead, this was a case of a communist worker being "early" in understanding the fighting potential of other workers in standing up for the rights of the Swift 17, as they came to be known, following their arrest by the immigration cops on March 1, 1988.

Sandler concluded his remarks by offering a salute to the fighters in Iowa who "were the roots of the Curtis defense effort — roots which the rulers, their judicial system and its supporters could never break."

Shirley Peña is a member of UAW Local 997 in Newton, Iowa.

Campaign for the socialist alternative!

For more information on the Socialist Workers Campaign write or call:

Socialist Workers 1996 Campaign,
P.O. Box 2652, New York, NY 10009
(212) 328-1504

Young Socialists launch recruitment drive

BY VERÓNICA POSES
AND JACK WILLEY

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Young Socialists have gotten a good start on our goal of doubling the size of our membership by the end of the Socialist Workers election campaign — recruiting 80 new members. Ten revolutionary youth have joined since July 9 when the YS announced this goal at the international socialist conference at Oberlin College. The recruitment drive will last through November 15.

The major axes of this effort revolve around campaigning for SWP candidates, carrying out activities in defense of the Cuban revolution, and joining protests against capitalist austerity.

Social protest actions on rise

Young Socialists in Illinois are drawing up a plan to respond to actions like the August 17 "Fight the Right" rally sponsored by the National Organization for Women and protests at the Democratic National Convention taking place in Chicago. YS members are going to St. Louis with other youth to lend solidarity to striking workers at McDonnell Douglas.

Protests against government attacks on immigrant workers are on the rise. Throughout the country, coalitions are forming to build the march for immigrant rights in Washington, D.C., on October 12. Young Socialists are bringing communist politics to others fighting for equal rights for immigrants, in addition to aiding efforts to get large contingents of activists in their area to the demonstration.

Jason Phelps and Gaetan Whiston are helping to lead a team of socialist campaigners in San Diego, California, where several demonstrations are taking place to fight against attacks on immigrants and affirmative action. YS members there have set a goal of recruiting at least five young fighters to the Young Socialists. They are holding classes each evening on political topics such as the fight for Chicano liberation to defense of Cuba's socialist revolution.

Ballot drive, campus openings

YS members are turning their attention to getting socialist candidates on the ballot in as many states as possible. The YS will help petition in Rhode Island and Vermont for James Harris and Laura Garza and in Texas for a socialist candidate for U.S. Congress. Through these efforts, YS members will meet thousands of young people and find many interested in getting involved in the socialist movement.

Candidates for local and state offices can plan to take time off work and lead teams to go to protests, speak at high schools and colleges, and campaign at picket lines.

In a few weeks, high schools and colleges will be opening up across the country. Many students will also be interested in inviting Young Socialists and candidates to their classes and student groups to speak.

Here in Minneapolis and St. Paul, the YS will aggressively take the socialist campaign to campuses, selling Pathfinder books and the *Militant*. In addition, we will be challenging other youth groups like the Young Democrats and Young Republicans to debates on major issues facing working people and youth.

Defense of the Cuban Revolution

Nearly 150 young people recently re-

turned from the US-Cuba Youth Exchange. Many youth on the trip were excited when Cuban president Fidel Castro addressed the Exchange, explaining the growing world capitalist disorder and that revolution does not need to be exported to the United States because it will rise out of the struggles by those fighting injustice. Coming out of this experience, six people have asked to join the YS and over a dozen others are interested.

After witnessing first-hand a living socialist revolution where the working class holds state power and has a communist leadership with an unblemished record of proletarian internationalism, participants in each area are eager to speak about their experiences.

In New York City, for example, youth who came back from the trip set up a speakers bureau to do report-backs in school classes, on the radio, and to community organizations.

Working with other Youth Exchange participants, YS members will be building the 1997 World Festival of Youth and Students as part of their report-backs. Many people who look to the Cuban revolution as an example of intransigent resistance to U.S. im-

perialism will want to join an organization fighting for socialism in the very belly of the beast.

Battle plans to build the YS

Young Socialists members in every city are encouraged to organize meetings to draw up a battle plan for recruiting young fighters. This includes bringing them to struggles we are involved in, holding classes, working with others to set up report-backs from the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange and participate in other activities in opposition to Washington's economic war on the Cuban people, and setting up campaign events.

Out of these discussions, Young Socialist chapters can adopt numerical goals for recruiting new members to our organization by November 15.

A new recruitment tool is the YS pamphlet released in July containing the political principles, campaigns, and rules of organization the YS adopted at our first convention in April. Young Socialists put this pamphlet in the hands of all young people interested in joining. Over 300 individual copies and 200 pre-orders have been sold so far.

Coming out of the international socialist

conference at Oberlin college in July, the YS leadership has made many shifts to make this campaign possible. YS National Steering Committee members Tom Alter, Verónica Poses, and Jack Willey are now working as full-time field organizers. Young Socialists can ask YS leaders in their region to spend some time in cities where chapters are being formed. This puts the YS in a position to respond to developments in politics as they unfold, work with members in several areas to build chapters, and organize the national office.

Ryan Kelly and Gaetan Whiston are currently touring with the Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

Over the next three months, the *Militant* will feature interviews with people who join the Young Socialists.

Weekly reports on the results of the recruitment effort and new members goals adopted in each city should be sent to the YS national office at P.O. Box 14392, St. Paul, MN 55114. Tel: (612) 644-0051. Please include photographs of YS members participating in political activities and stories on these actions. If you send in interviews with new members, please include photos.

McDonnell Douglas strikers get solidarity

BY DANNY BOOHER
AND MARY MARTIN

ST. LOUIS, Missouri — Chanting "What do we want?" "Union Jobs!" "When do we want them? Now!" and "Union in; Scabs Out!" over 6,000 unionists and their supporters marched here August 11 in solidarity with the International Association of Machinists (IAM) union members on strike against McDonnell Douglas Corporation.

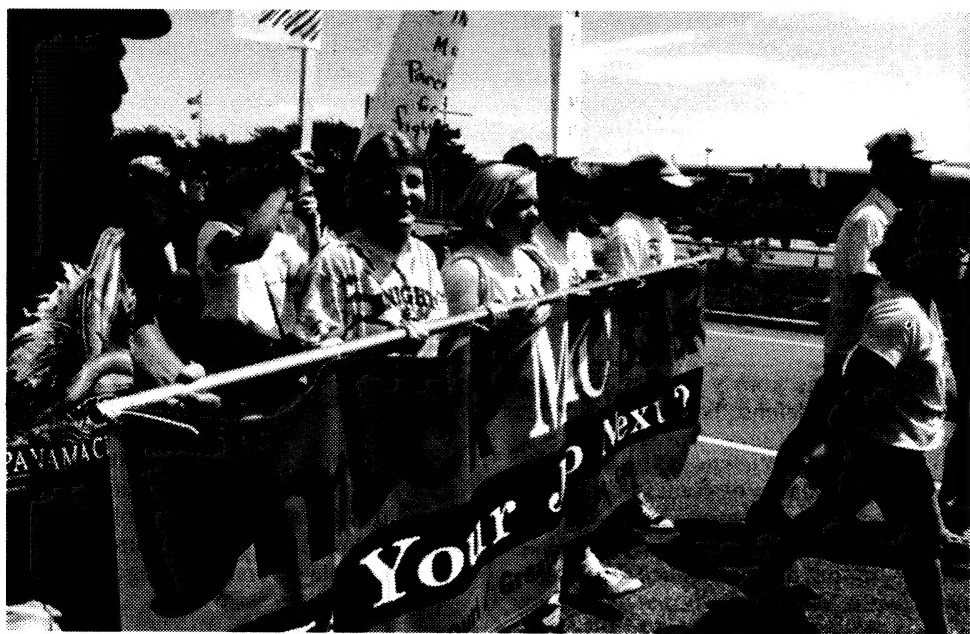
Members of the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers of America, the Teamsters union, and other IAM locals from across Missouri, other Midwest states, plus California, Washington, and elsewhere came to participate in a two-mile march to McDonnell Douglas corporate headquarters.

The march stepped off from IAM District 837 headquarters in Hazelwood. A 2,000-strong contingent of autoworkers mostly from assembly plants in the area joined in soon. Two UAW members came from the McDonnell Douglas plant in Long Beach, California, and 17 UAW members from the Caterpillar plant in Peoria, Illinois, also marched.

A contingent of 65 IAM members who work for Boeing in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle, Washington, also attended. Daughters and sons of striking Machinists carried signs reading "I support my parents' fight for jobs."

The demonstration ended in a rally at a park adjacent to McDonnell corporate headquarters.

Kenny Whetstone, one of the UAW Local 974 members who works in the East Peoria Caterpillar plant, explained why the group traveled to St. Louis for the march and rally. "The injustice of what happened to us at CAT is reflected in the Machinists strike against McDonnell Douglas," he said. UAW members at Caterpillar returned to work without a contract at the beginning of this year after 18 months on the picket lines. "It's the same bosses at the top like we went up against at CAT. Instead of being loyal to



Militant/Jim Garrison

Supporters and McDonnell Douglas strikers march for jobs August 11 in St. Louis

their employees, the company wants to take away any voice from the union. They would like workers to be at the will of the employers."

Fifteen members of the St. Louis chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) marched with their banner. CBTU member Billy Clark, a building trades worker, said in an interview, "We are here because this is a union struggle. Today it's their union and tomorrow they may be chipping away at my union. I'm glad to see this show of solidarity."

The strike here has entered its 11th week. The main issues in the dispute are the outsourcing of jobs from the McDonnell plant to non-union factories as well as retirement and health benefits. Although negotiations have resumed, there has been little progress reported.

On August 1, the state of Missouri ruled that the Machinists were entitled to receive unemployment compensation during the walkout.

The aerospace giant has consistently boasted that through hiring strikebreakers and using white collar employees in assembly operations, production levels in the struck plant are nearly as high as they were before the strike, a claim disputed by the union.

On the basis of company assertions that near-normal production levels have been maintained, the state ruled no disruption in production had occurred as a result of the strike. Initially, the strikers will receive \$35 per week in unemployment benefits. Company officials say the ruling is "immoral" and will be appealed.

The two-mile march made its way past the world headquarters building of McDonnell and into an adjacent park. Featured speakers at the rally included George Becker, International President of the

USWA; George Kourpias, Secretary-Treasurer of the IAM; Bill Lucy, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Richard Trumka, secretary treasurer of the national AFL-CIO.

All union officials repeated in their speeches the labor tops' protectionist theme of defending "American jobs."

"We need a sense of job security for all Americans," Kourpias stated. "Changing jobs five times in a lifetime ain't right; it ain't American." He continued, "It's unAmerican to sell our technology [abroad]. These jobs in St. Louis are important to our future."

Many of those present signaled approval of these points with applause and whistles. A few had a different view.

Edith Marques is one of several former workers at the Bridgestone Firestone plant in Decatur, Illinois, who was illegally fired and is fighting to get her job back.

"I recently went on a USWA-organized trip to Tokyo to meet with Japanese unionists," she said in an interview. "We went to get solidarity in our fight to get our jobs back after the recent strike at Bridgestone Firestone. We received a lot of letters of support. I really didn't know anything about what they are doing in the unions in Japan. Now a Japanese delegation of unionists is going to come to Decatur and other cities in the Midwest at the end of August. It is these companies' fault that we have to fight for our jobs in this country — not the fault of workers in other countries."

Mary Martin is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759 at Northwest Airlines in Washington, D.C.. Jim Garrison, a member of United Auto Workers Local 110 at Chrysler in Fenton, Missouri, also contributed to this article.

Now available: YS pamphlet!

Political Principles, Campaigns and Rules of Organization

Newly published from the Young Socialists. Contains decisions from the first convention of the YS and revolutionary greetings from the African National Congress Youth League in South Africa, the Union of Young Communists in Cuba, and recently released Mark Curtis. This pamphlet is for all young people who want to fight the injustices bred by capitalism and are looking for a socialist alternative.



1-9 copies, \$4 each; 10 or more copies, \$3 each.
Checks made payable to
Young Socialists, P.O. Box
14392, St. Paul, MN 55114.

Thousands protest at GOP convention

BY MEGAN ARNEY

SAN DIEGO, California — "Forward forever, backward never!" This was one of the chants that could be heard as more than 600 people rallied here August 12 to oppose the anti-affirmative action California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), now named Proposition 209. It was an appropriate chant as hundreds of workers and youth converged on San Diego from across the country for a week of protests and demonstrations at the Republican convention.

The hottest issues were Proposition 209, immigration, and abortion rights. Organizers of the convention set up a "free speech" area that forced demonstrations near the convention site into a fenced-in area. Groups had to reserve a time slot and were given 50 minutes to protest. Some of the protesters included the Green Party, Amnesty International, Students Against Dole Increasing School Tuition, lesbian and gay groups, Carpenters Local 547, Hermanos en Acción Contra el SIDA, and Asian-Pacific Islanders Student Alliance. Many groups listed on the schedule for the free speech area supported the Democratic Party.

200 defend abortion clinic

A range of other actions took place around the area. Some 200 people met at 6:00 a.m. August 10 to defend the Women's Clinic in San Diego. Operation Rescue had announced that it would shut down abortion clinics during the Republican convention. While a dozen anti-choice demonstrators showed up at that particular clinic to pray, another clinic in nearby La Mesa was forced to close temporarily after a complete blockade of the entrance by Operation Rescue. The clinic operators had decided not to use a public defense, opting instead for paid security. Morale at the San Diego clinic remained high, and organizers declared victory.

Many people from San Diego have been part of clinic defense before, while others came for the first time. Sally Diggs, an activist from Palm Springs, came with the National Organization for Women (NOW) chapter in her area. She said that 25 high schools students were also planning to come to San Diego. Diggs said young activists in Palm Springs "kept seeing each other at events, then we started talking and doing things together." Diggs added that her NOW chapter, the United Farm Workers, and the NAACP have also begun doing classes on Prop. 209 in Palm Springs.

Leilani Clark and Torie Quinoñez, two students from a local community college, said they came because of the Republican convention. "I'm angry the convention is happening in my city. So I came out to do something about it," Clark said. Both she and Quinoñez are part of a feminist study group at their college and are veterans of

the fight against the anti-immigrant Prop. 187 that passed in 1994 in California. Quinoñez explained that they were also against Prop. 209 because "living this close to the border we have to be aware about politics. The border is a war zone — if you're here you have to be active."

Nearly 500 people attended another abortion rights rally called by NOW August 13.

March to border for immigrant rights

More than 200 people marched nearly six miles to the U.S.-Mexican border near Tijuana August 10 to protest the attacks on immigrants. The march was initiated by activists at the University of California, Riverside campus and attended by members of MEChA chapters and other Chicano students from a number of southern California campuses. Activists marched chanting, "Raza, Si; Migra, No!"

The social and economic polarization around the question of immigrant rights was demonstrated when marchers passed a ranch house and were heckled by the occupants, who kept a shotgun on the porch and flew a Confederate flag. *La migra*, or border patrols, stood at the top of the hills that serve as the border, carrying shotguns which they once pointed at the marchers.

Chicano youth lead protests

Leading the resistance against Prop. 209 are Chicano youth, including a group who have carried out La Marcha, a protest march extending 700 miles from Sacramento to San Diego. Proposition 209 would end all governmental quotas in employment, end contracts set aside for minorities and women, and wipe out minority scholarships and diversity programs at state schools.

As the 15 core youth marched through the state, they stopped in towns and cities to hold speak-outs and forums against the proposition, register people to vote, and encourage others to join them in resisting the attacks on affirmative action. In many cities others joined La Marcha. The youth, who call themselves "marchistas," are mainly members of the Chicano organization MEChA. Many were part of the fight against Prop. 187 two years ago.

"We're marching against Prop. 209 and we're marching for social and economic justice," said Monica Reece-Hernandez, a marchista from Bakersfield, California.

More than 200 people participated in a leg of La Marcha on August 10. The demonstration was overwhelmingly young. Cesar Fernandez, a 23-year-old student at the University of California - San Diego, said that affirmative action is an issue that affects many students, particularly Chicanos. "The growing awareness is because of our everyday experiences — the attacks on Chicanos and Mexicanos. Because of the immigrant beatings we're keep-



Militant/ Megan Arney

200 demonstrators condemn Patrick Buchanan rally in Escondido, California.

ing our eyes open for everything — and fighting back."

High school students are becoming involved in opposing Prop. 209, like they did during the fight against Prop. 187. Sylvia Muñoz, a 15-year-old high school student from San Diego, said she came out "because it's our future we're fighting for. If we don't do it, who will? It's not just for us, it's for everyone."

On August 12, the opening day of the Republican convention, La Marcha concluded its journey by holding a protest and march to the convention. About 600 people converged on the convention center for this last leg of the protest. Speakers talked about educating themselves and others, and learning about revolutionaries. They called for actions to fight Prop. 209 in the streets this fall and to travel to Washington, D.C. on October 12 to protest for immigrant rights. Eddie Torres, a marchista and a student from East Los Angeles, said, "We are at a historic moment here. We have women, Blacks, the *campesinos* [farmers]. We are all united to fight Prop. 209. It will be defeated and we will hold ourselves responsible." Speakers included representatives from the United Farm Workers, One Stop Immigration, the Gay and Lesbian Task Force with Voices '96, the San Diego Million Man March Committee, and the NOW

Young Socialists organize protest

Young Socialists (YS) organized a speak-out in the free speech area in front of the Republican Convention August 12. Jason Phelps, a member of the YS in Vancouver, chaired the event. He pointed to the stop lights behind him and said, "They want to tell us where to protest. They want to tell us how long to protest. When the light turns green, we can start talking; when it turns red, we have to stop. Well, we have something to say."

Phelps then introduced Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Laura Garza, as well as YS members and other fighters who had come from across the country to be part of demonstrations in San Diego.

Buchanan concedes campaign setback

BY GALE SHANGOLD

ESCONDIDO, California — Patrick Buchanan, ultrarightist candidate for president during the Republican primaries earlier this year, conceded defeat in this year's campaign at a rally on the eve of the Republican convention August 11. More than 1,000 people attended the invitation-only event at the California Center for the Arts, including nearly 200 members of the media.

Buchanan's speech was meek in comparison to his talks at the high point of his election campaign, when he placed first in the New Hampshire primary. "Now this miracle campaign is coming to an end," he said.

Earlier in the program, Oliver North, who ran Washington's mercenary "contra" war against the Nicaraguan revolution, was the first speaker to announce that Buchanan would stay within the Republican Party and not form a third party, as some of his supporters had hoped. He received some boos when he said, "I implore you, for the future of my children, stand up and fight within the party torn by adversity and moral crisis."

In his speech, Buchanan called for a "truce" in the Republican Party. "Let us —

at least for the next 10 weeks, nobles and knights, and, yes, even the peasants with pitchforks — suspend our battles with one another and join together in common cause to defeat Bill Clinton." The next day he formally endorsed the ticket of Robert Dole and Jack Kemp.

At the same time Buchanan made it clear that he is not ending his attempt to forge an incipient fascist cadre out of those attracted to his campaign. He praised "the young of the Buchanan Brigades.... So now you've had your first defeat. It's painful. But I know in my heart this cause will prevail."

Maintaining the scapegoating of immigrants that has been a hallmark of his campaign, Buchanan said, "I do not exaggerate. The central issue of the new century will be whether America survives, as an independent republic, with her own defined borders, a common language, and a common culture."

"A few miles south of here is a great country, with a great and good people, the Mexican people.... Desperate for work, they violate our borders and immigration laws to get here.... "But this land is our land. And this country is our country. And we have a duty to look out for America and Ameri-

cans first."

The rightist politician also sought through his speech and a video to present himself as a friend of working people against "transnational corporations that show no loyalty to their workers, nor allegiance to any country."

Buchanan touted his impact on the Republican Party's platform as a major accomplishment, saying, "Because the Buchanan Brigades would not compromise, and because we would not quit, the Republican Party remains tonight, a pro-life party." Dole, however, has made it clear he does not feel bound by this platform.

In addition to North, speakers at the rally included: Angela "Bay" Buchanan, chairperson of the Buchanan campaign; Rabbi Aryeh Spero; California Rep. Duncan Hunter; Florida Rep. Cliff Stearns; and Phyllis Schlafly, co-chair of the Buchanan for President Campaign.

Outside the Arts Center, 200 protesters rallied against Buchanan's positions on gay, abortion and immigrant rights. The main sponsor of the counterprotest was the National Lesbian and Gay Task Force in conjunction with Voices '96, a San Diego-based ad hoc gay and lesbian organization.

NASSCO strikers rally

BY LYN DUFF

SAN DIEGO, California — Some 100 workers marked the fourth week of a strike against NASSCO, the National Steel and Shipbuilding Co., with a spirited rally and picket line on August 10. Participants at the demonstration chanted, "What do we want? A contract! When do we want it? Now!" Nearly 4,000 members of the seven unions in the plant — including ironworkers, electricians, carpenters, the teamsters, and the machinists — went on strike July 17, after four years of rollbacks, including a three-year wage freeze for some and a wage cut for others.

The NASSCO workers have been without a contract since 1992, while management has attempted to destroy the unions and implement an open shop. The bosses have eliminated cost-of-living raises, seniority, and other benefits. On the job injuries have increased two-fold, to an average of 30 a day.

NASSCO is a diverse shop. Immigrants from all over the world work there. Management has tried to whip up anti-immigrant prejudice, saying that they could always go "south of the border" to find workers.

"It's important for us to unite here with the workers in Mexico," said one 58-year-old welder, who also has participated in some of the recent immigrant rights marches in San Diego. "We can't let the focus of our strike be getting what's good for us only; we have to fight for all of the working class."

One of the big battles in this strike has been over the issue of reclassifying jobs. Under past work rules sheetmetal workers didn't weld and welders didn't do other jobs. Now management wants to reclassify all the jobs and combine some, to prepare for a mass layoff.

Murry Bullard, a 35-year-old electrician, said, "We were informed the day of strike that our benefits were being cut. Some people, they got kids who are sick, they had to cross the picket line.... I think this strike is significant. It's going to change the thinking about the union and their future."

Capitalist decline looms over '96 elections

Continued from front page
around the July 17 crash of TWA Flight 800 is fizzling. With more and more of the Boeing 747 and its contents recovered, aviation officials and the FBI still have not produced a shred of evidence pointing to anything but the likelihood of a disaster caused by mechanical failure. The threat to public safety from the cumulative effects of corporate cutbacks in the most basic upkeep and unremitting pressure on job conditions is becoming clearer to millions.

Each of these recent developments illustrates the devastating consequences for working people of world capitalism's depression conditions and the sharpening, profit-driven competition of the propertied ruling classes in the United States and other imperialist countries. They reveal the narrowing economic limits the U.S. rulers and their government confront in seeking to reverse this crisis. These events also underscore the political barriers the capitalists still face in seeking to roll back the democratic rights and social solidarity conquered in hard-fought battles by workers, Blacks, women, and others among the exploited and oppressed.

Clinton opens assault on social security

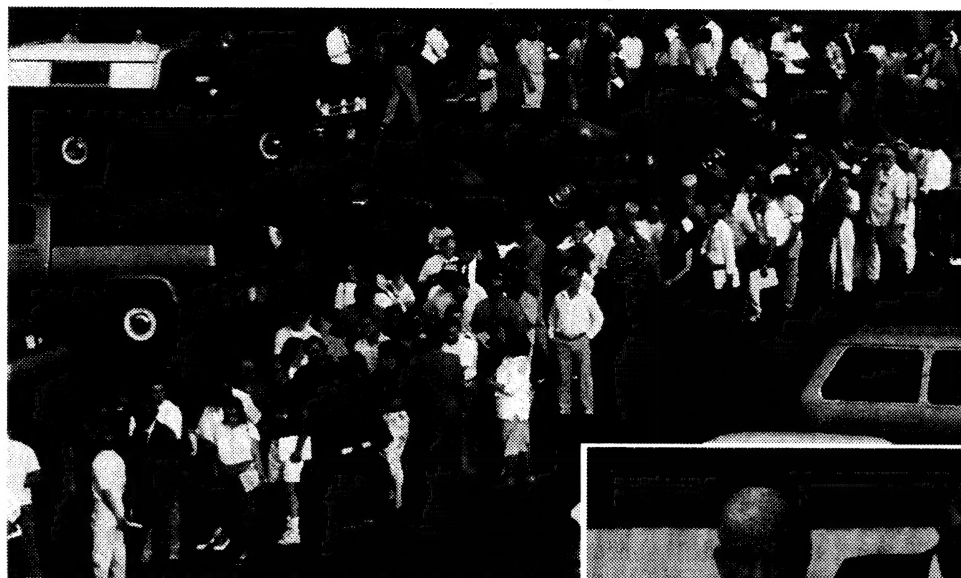
At a July 31 press conference announcing he would sign the "welfare reform" bill, Clinton reminded the liberals in his party — and his colleagues in ruling-class circles — that he had been advocating the end of welfare "a long time before it became a cause célèbre in Washington."

The new White House-approved law will end the federal guarantees of cash assistance for children of working people with very low incomes. Instead, Washington will provide state governments with annual "lump sums," to be distributed as state and local politicians see fit until the trough runs dry. The bill sailed through the House of Representatives by a bipartisan 328-101 vote, and through the Senate by a 78-21 margin.

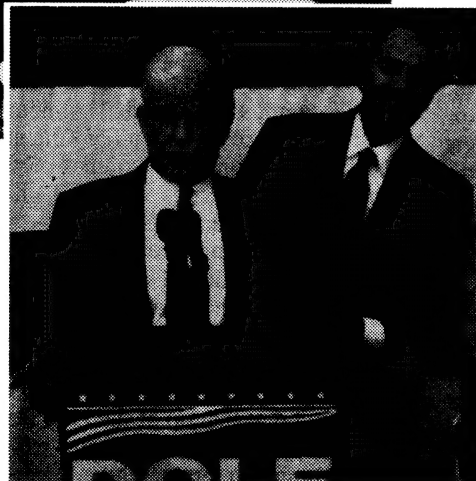
The law puts a five-year lifetime limit on receiving welfare and cuts off benefits to those who can't find an employer to hire them within two years. It permits states to impose tighter eligibility requirements and force recipients onto degrading make-work projects often paying below the minimum wage. It singles out for special punishment women living alone with children, if they are jobless or under the age of 18 — all in the name of "curbing illegitimacy" and promoting "family values."

The law will affect most of the 13 million workers and farmers receiving welfare and the 25 million receiving food stamps. An estimated 1 million immigrants with residence papers will be cut off from food stamps. And hundreds of thousands will be excluded from Medicaid and Supplemental Security Income (SSI), regardless of the wages they are bringing home from a boss.

Working people won the concessions included in the Social Security Act — which



Above: Line of 1,200 workers seeking jobs in New Hampshire in 1991. Right: Republican candidates Robert Dole and Jack Kemp. Clinton administration is passing off 2 percent economic growth as "good times" and 5-6 percent joblessness as "full employment." Dole and Kemp promise "growth" as alternative to economic insecurity under Clinton.



encompassed guaranteed pension, disability, and unemployment benefit floors, as well as AFDC — through hard-fought battles in the 1930s. In the wake of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s, these gains were consolidated and extended by the addition of Medicare, Medicaid, food stamps, and cost-of-living protections. Workers fought for such minimal lifetime security to keep their class from being torn apart by the ravages of capitalism. The working class struggled to entrench these measures as universal social rights, with automatic funding not reviewed in annual budgets, and without any degrading "means testing." Far from being "the dole," these entitlements represent a small part of the social wealth that the working class, and only the working class, produces through its labor. These benefits are a social wage that, together with hourly wages paid directly by employers, make up the basic living standards of working people. Very broad sections of the middle class depend on them as well.

The rulers' assault on welfare aims to scapegoat sections of the toilers and undermine class solidarity, paving the way for more sweeping assaults. The day after Clinton said he would sign the bill, the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* exulted, "We hope that reform of the welfare entitlements will be followed by reform of middle-class entitlements" — their code words for slashing Social Security pensions and Medicare, and pushing off the legal retirement age for workers who have toiled a lifetime.

This bipartisan direction was pointed to in the Senate debate on the welfare bill by New York Democrat Daniel Moynihan. While himself a longtime propagandist of

the reactionary notion that families headed by single Black mothers are responsible for the "culture of poverty" and "cycle of dependency," Moynihan was one of the handful of senators who voted against the bill. Moynihan called it "the first step in dismantling the social contract that has been in place in the United States since at least the 1930's. Do not doubt that Social Security itself, which is to say insured retirement benefits, will be next. [The 1935 act pledged to] care for the elderly, the unemployed, the children. Drop the latter; watch the others fall."

Moynihan and some other bourgeois figures recognize that in pressing this assault against the social wage, the rulers are taking a chance on suddenly facing a social explosion that can burst beyond the control of the labor officialdom and middle-class leaderships of Black and women's rights organizations. When that begins to happen, the monopoly by the employing class on politics in the United States will start being threatened as well.

Socialist conference

Through the presentations and discussions at an international socialist conference held in early July in Oberlin, Ohio, communist workers and youth from North America and many other countries were well-prepared to respond to the political developments described above. Some 600 people attended the gathering, which was jointly hosted by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists.

In his talk at the conference, entitled "Capitalism's World Disorder: the Struggle for a Proletarian Party Today," SWP national secretary Jack Barnes debunked the claim by many liberals and middle-class radicals "that Clinton is being dragged to the right by Newton Gingrich and the 'Gang of 73' Republican freshmen elected to Congress in 1994."

Barnes reminded participants at the socialist conference that Clinton's 1992 pledge "to end welfare as we know it" was not just campaign rhetoric. It was an extension of the "welfare reform" Clinton had carried out as governor of Arkansas in the 1980s and early 1990s. And it was the course he had charted as head of the Democratic Leadership Council and National Governors Conference during his rise as a bourgeois politician.

Back in November 1992, just a few days after Clinton's election, Barnes had explained to a public meeting in New York City that the Democratic candidate's entire campaign — since the first primaries — had been designed to assure the billionaire bondholders in the United States of his commitment to begin rolling back the social wage won through the labor struggles of the 1930s and civil rights battles of the 1950s and 1960s.

The coarsening rhetoric across the bourgeois political spectrum — aimed at heightening resentment in the middle classes and

undercutting social solidarity among working people — would continue over the next four years and beyond, Barnes had explained. That 1992 talk is one of four collected in the forthcoming book, *Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics in the 21st Century*, scheduled for publication by Pathfinder Press this fall.

While governor of Arkansas, Clinton gained a reputation as a voice for the capitalist insurance giants, Barnes explained at the recent socialist conference. During his first two years in the White House, Clinton — in the name of "health care reform" — pushed unsuccessfully for legislation that would have been a boon to the insurance companies and to the increasingly profitable capitalist enterprises known as Health Maintenance Organizations.

Barnes said that Clinton had already begun to probe something Ronald Reagan had explicitly rejected doing only a decade earlier, anticipating the explosive reaction not only among workers but many in the middle class. Where Reagan still feared to tread, however, Clinton has now begun the slow but sure assault on Social Security retirement pensions as a universal entitlement.

Barnes called attention to the stingy increase in the federal minimum wage the White House and Congress were in the final stages of negotiating. That 90-cent increase to \$5.15 an hour, stretched out over a full year, will leave the minimum wage in real terms almost \$2 an hour below its level in 1968.

A few weeks later the House of Representatives approved a "health insurance" reform that Clinton has pledged to sign. By mandating the establishment of so-called private medical savings accounts, it opens a wedge to begin gutting Medicare as a government-funded entitlement for all.

Pressure on democratic rights

The Democratic administration has been in the forefront of probes against democratic rights as well, Barnes told conference participants.

"When you hear the name 'William

Feature talks at conference

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Four major talks were presented at the international socialist conference referred to in the article above. Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder publishing and editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, addressed the meeting on "Using, selling, and producing our books: Year one of the rectification process." She spoke about charting a course to help the communist movement respond in a timely way to new developments in politics, through getting books with the most powerful ideas on earth — the ideas of the revolutionary workers movement — into the hands of thousands of fighters around the world.

Jack Willey gave a presentation entitled "Building the Young Socialists and winning youth to the communist movement." Willey, who spoke on behalf of the Young Socialists national steering committee, said the YS reconfirmed its goal set at its national convention in April to double the size of its membership by the end of the election campaign.

"The changing face of U.S. politics" feature was presentation given by James Harris, a member of the party's National Trade Union Committee and the SWP candidate for U.S. president. In his talk Harris noted how the party has been able to elect a national trade union leadership body, for the first time in a decade, composed largely of SWP leaders working in industrial jobs.

The conference also included classes and workshops on a variety of political topics aimed at increasing the effective political work of communists and supporters of the revolutionary movement.

Coverage on the international socialist gathering was featured in the August 5 issue of the *Militant*. Anyone interested in more information on the event should send \$1.50 to The Militant, 410 West St. New York, NY 10014.

THE TEAMSTER SERIES

by Farrell Dobbs

TEAMSTER POLITICS

Reviews how a fighting labor movement approached the fight for jobs and public assistance during the depression years of the 1930s. Includes segment on the Federal Workers Sections, the organization of unemployed workers backed by organized labor, and on the fight for jobs, increased relief benefits, and against abusive treatment by the government welfare agents of the day. \$17.95

TEAMSTER REBELLION

The 1934 strikes that built a fighting union movement in Minneapolis and helped pave the way for the CIO. \$16.95

TEAMSTER POWER

The 11-state Midwest over-the-road organizing drive. \$17.95

TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY

Organizing to oppose World War II, racism, and government efforts — backed by the union officialdom — to gag class-struggle-minded workers. \$18.95.

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please add \$3 for shipping and handling.

from Pathfinder

Teamster Politics

TEAMSTER REBELLION

TEAMSTER POWER

Teamster Power

Farrell Dobbs

Let me say now, because the federal

national Union order you not to go

through backer laws, that class

must be set aside during the war

If you don't want a war, you

shouldn't have a war. I don't

know any more. I don't know

any more. I don't know any more.

I don't know any more. I don't

know any more. I don't know

any more. I don't know any more.

Jefferson Clinton," he said, "you should always recall the name 'Ricky Ray Rector.' During the 1992 Democratic primary race, Clinton demonstratively flew back to Arkansas from his campaign tour to preside over the execution of Ricky Ray Rector, a mentally disabled man on death row. That calculated move was part of sounding the note that the Clinton White House would be a 'law and order' administration — an administration that went after human solidarity, despite its sentimental homilies. And that is exactly the course Clinton has been putting in place over the past three and a half years."

The administration's "anticrime" and "antiterrorism" bills have expanded the use of the death penalty; narrowed the right of appeal of the convicted, especially those on death row; and pushed back freedom from illegal search and seizure further than other recent administrations even dreamed of doing.

In April, the SWP leader pointed out, Clinton signed legislation mandating the government to deport immigrants previously convicted of a felony or misdemeanor without due process. In May he signed a nationwide "Megan's Law," which requires states to publicize the names of persons convicted of a sex offense after their release from prison, in effect adding years to their sentences without the right to a trial or jury.

Barnes likewise condemned Clinton's announced plans to sign the reactionary Defense of Marriage Act currently before Congress, which bans same-sex marriages by gays and lesbians. This is not just a case of flagrant intrusion by the state into people's private lives, Barnes said.

"The majority of workers and youth, who haven't been hardened by the bourgeoisie's efforts to coarsen politics, don't need many arguments to react with hatred when the state reaches in to touch your heart and damage it, and to do so in a way that stigmatizes and sets you apart from other human beings. That says more than most things you can think of about the rulers' utter lack of human solidarity.

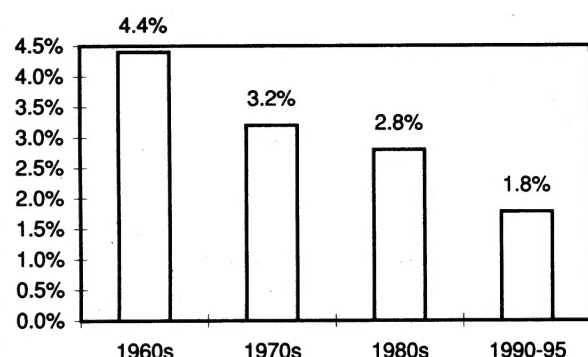
"What's more," the socialist leader added, "Clinton's pledge to sign this reactionary legislation says a lot about the utter cynicism of bourgeois campaign promises. In 1992 Clinton campaigned as a supporter of gay rights, in the military and civilian society. His record ever since tells a different story."

Barnes recalled that for his generation of youth, a similar issue had been the so-called miscegenation laws in some 19 states that barred marriages between a white person and a Black person. Under the impact of the mass civil rights battles, those laws were finally struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court only in 1967.

Republicans pose as party of 'growth'

Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole gave Clinton a tongue-in-cheek commendation in early August "for finally climbing on board the Dole welfare reform proposal." In truth, however, the Dole campaign is taking advantage of Clinton's identification among growing layers of working people and the middle class as the candidate of economic stagnation and social

AVERAGE ANNUAL RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH UNITED STATES, 1960-1995



austerity, the candidate of the "balanced budget" at all costs.

Both Clinton's record and his campaign rhetoric are placing his economic and social policy in some fundamental ways to the right of the Dole campaign propaganda. The White House and its apologists are campaigning for Clinton's re-election by trying to depict his first term as the best of times. They are trying to convince workers that less than 2 percent annual economic growth so far in the 1990s — compared to more than 4 percent in the 1960s, above 3 percent in the 1970s, and more than 2.5 percent even in the 1980s — is about all that can be expected "in these difficult times." And they want us to believe that 5-6 percent unemployment — considered high even during recessions until the mid-1970s — is really "full employment" today.

Clinton, in an interview published in the August 1 *Wall Street Journal*, acknowledged that "we would be better off if we could grow a little faster.... But the truth is," he cautioned, "no one knows what the optimum rate of economic growth without inflation is."

To millions of working people and layers of the middle class, however, today's stagnant growth, high jobless levels, declining real wages, and increasing class inequality — all during an upturn in the capitalist business cycle — represent a growing danger to their economic and social prospects. If this is the best capitalism has to offer for the foreseeable future, more and more people are beginning to say, then the consequences for the lives and livelihoods of the working class will be devastating.

In selecting Jack Kemp as his running mate, Dole consciously chose a candidate whose longtime rhetoric — including as a U.S. Congressman and Bush administration cabinet member — has won him the reputation in bourgeois politics as "pro-growth," not a "budget deficit hawk."

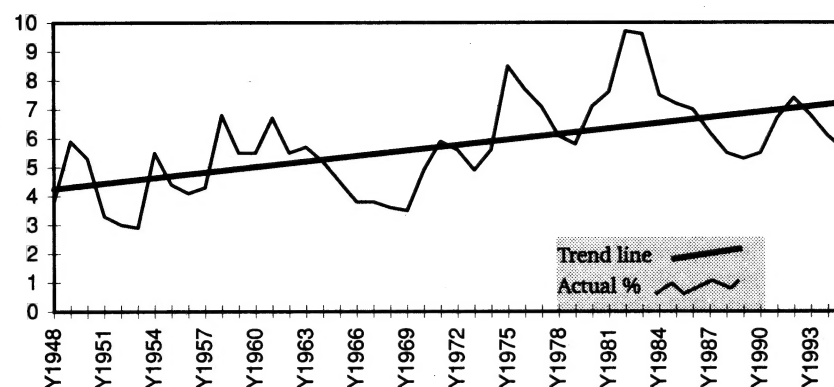
"America needs more economic growth, more economic opportunity, more jobs, with rising incomes at home and leadership and cultural renewal for America in the world," Kemp said on his arrival in San Diego for the Republican convention August 11. "Here's what a Bob Dole White House will mean to you and your families: more money in your pockets and your savings account. More jobs in your community.... We want a net of welfare and safety under which people should not be allowed to fall. But we are going to work on building a ladder of opportunity upon which every American can climb."

Dole's recent call for a 15 percent tax cut, in and of itself, is not the heart of the pitch the Republican campaign hopes to ride all the way to the White House this summer and fall. Not to mention the even more regressive flat tax and drastically deflationary return to the gold standard, with which Kemp had been associated prior to accepting the spot on the Republican ticket. Such tax schemes and monetary nostrums — while holding a certain appeal for small businesspeople and some middle-class sectors and working farmers — are of much less interest to broad layers of workers.

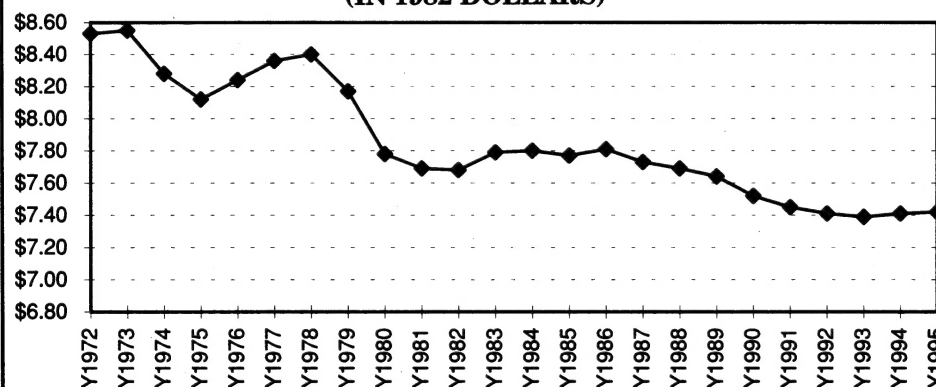
Of much greater interest to workers, and to many in the middle class as well, however, is some prospect of accelerated economic growth and what they assume will be an accompanying increase in jobs, weekly pay, and a sustainable social wage for all. Why are workers on welfare suffering? Why is anxiety mounting over Medicare and Social Security payments in the decades ahead? Because economic growth is too slow to sustain such benefits, the Republican candidates are demagogically saying to working people.

Dole's propaganda also shovels six more

U.S. OFFICIAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1948-1995 (BY PERCENT)



AVERAGE HOURLY REAL WAGES, UNITED STATES, 1970-1995 (IN 1982 DOLLARS)



feet of earth on the more draconian sections of the "Contract with America" — the drastic social cuts House speaker Gingrich and the Republican majority failed to push through Congress in 1995. The Contract had already been laid to rest much earlier in the presidential campaign. It was absent from the Republican convention speeches.

The Dole-Kemp campaign now intends to leave the incumbent Democratic administration holding the bag for attacks on entitlements. As a recent *New York Times* article put it, Kemp, "while not opposed to fiscal austerity, has always argued that balancing the budget should not be the 'be-all and end-all.'" And campaigning August 12 at the Solar Turbines Inc. factory in San Diego, Dole plugged his running mate and vowed to the workers, "We're not going to touch your Social Security."

Buchanan's Lenten truce

The steps by the Dole campaign culminating in the San Diego convention also register the obstacles the U.S. rulers as a whole face in seeking to push back the democratic rights and social gains working people and the oppressed have fought to defend and extend over the past quarter century.

In its big majority, the U.S. employing class is convinced that Patrick Buchanan's ultrarightist campaign for the Republican nomination is too far out ahead of the times. Buchanan's main goal was, and remains, to build the nucleus of an ideologically reactionary "America First" movement through the campaign — one with a fascist cadre integrated into it.

"The bourgeoisie itself places sharp limits on rightist forces as long as the social crisis is not so deep that it must rely on them to maintain capitalist rule," SWP national secretary Jack Barnes explained in a 1995 New Year's weekend talk in Los Angeles, also to be included in the forthcoming book, *Capitalism's World Disorder*. Under such circumstances, Barnes said, the rulers push back against movements like Buchanan's, which rock the stability of the capitalist two-party system.

Buchanan's xenophobic, and increasingly anticapitalist, appeals were pitched during this year's campaign, as they had been four years ago, to the insecurities and fears of the middle class and layers of the working class.

The ultrarightist's campaign peaked shortly after his victory in the New Hampshire primary in mid-February, however. At the end of that month, Buchanan took third place in the Arizona primary, losing to candidate Malcolm Forbes Jr. Forbes won that race by hammering on the question of reversing economic stagnation, as the Dole-Kemp ticket is trying to do today. Kemp backed Forbes, not Dole, in the primaries. And, as with Dole's current tax cut proposal, Forbes's flat tax actually took a back seat in the minds of most voters to the broader logic of his growth rhetoric.

It was also during the Arizona primary that Buchanan began to encounter both public protests and growing revulsion among broad layers of workers and youth to his openly anti-immigrant and thinly veiled rac-

Continued on Page 10

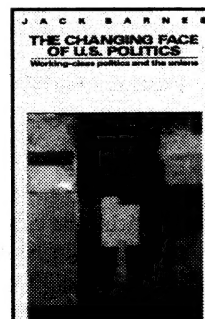
World Politics and the Trade Unions from Pathfinder

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

Jack Barnes

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95



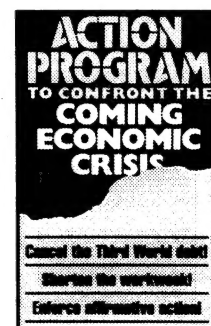
An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

A PROGRAM FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE TODAY

Edited by

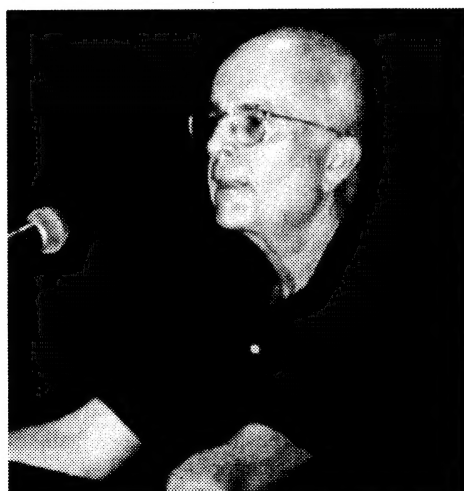
Doug Jenness

How a program to fight for jobs and affirmative action, and to combat imperialism's pillage of the Third World, is crucial to uniting working people internationally. Also available in Spanish, Icelandic, and Swedish. Booklet \$3.00



IMPERIALISM'S MARCH TOWARD FASCISM AND WAR
Jack Barnes
In *New International* no. 10

Available at bookstores including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.



Militant/Carole Lesnick
Jack Barnes, Socialist Workers Party national secretary, addresses July 6-9 Active Workers and International Socialist Conference held at Oberlin College.

Capitalist crisis

Continued from Page 9

ist and anti-Semitic demagoguery. Chicanos and others took to the streets to denounce him in Arizona, and other protests began to dog Buchanan's trail for the rest of the campaign.

As a capitalist politician, Kemp has actively cultivated the opposite public image. For example, he opposed Proposition 187, the anti-immigrant California ballot measure approved in 1994. Dubbing himself a "bleeding-heart conservative," Kemp also used his position as secretary of housing and urban development in the Bush administration to seek out photo opportunities in Black urban neighborhoods. Both in those years, and more recently as co-director of the bourgeois think tank Empower America, Kemp pushed what he called "enterprise zones" — that is, tax breaks and other incentives to businesses that located in Black and Latino neighborhoods, supposedly creating jobs.

The Republican convention officially adopted a platform portrayed by some in the big business press as a victory for Buchanan's forces there. Among other things, Dole had initially proposed that the plank calling for a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion be accompanied by a "tolerance" clause welcoming those who support a woman's right to choose into the Republican campaign; that "big tent" clause was dropped. And the platform also included, for the first time, a plank calling for overturning the constitutional right to "birth-right citizenship" for the children of immigrants.

Dole's convention staff, however, arranged for the platform to be discussed and adopted during afternoon off-hours, when there was little or no TV coverage of the gathering. Dole also demonstratively told a San Diego daily newspaper, "I'm not bound by the platform. I probably agree with most everything in it, but I haven't read it." Both Dole and Kemp disowned the citizenship plank.

At an August 11 convention-eve rally of his supporters in nearby Escondido, California, Buchanan conceded temporary defeat, ruling out for now a walkout from the Republican gathering to form a separate, ultrarightist party.

"In the Middle Ages," Buchanan said, "there was a time they called the Truce of God. During Lent, the warring nobles and knights suspended their battles with one another. No fighting during Lent...."

"Let us — at least for the next 10 weeks — nobles and knights — and, yes, even the peasants with pitchforks — suspend our battles with one another and join together in common cause to defeat Bill Clinton and Prince Albert [Gore]," he declared.

In concluding his remarks, Buchanan directly addressed "the young of the Buchanan Brigades," the cadres of the incipient fascist movement he continues to work to build. "I know how you feel. We fought it fair. We almost had it won," Buchanan said. "So, now, you've had your

first defeat. It's painful. But I know in my heart this cause is going to prevail. This cause is going to triumph, because it is the cause of America.... And, through my remaining days, it will be the proudest honor of my life to have led the Buchanan Brigades."

Limits of "downsizing"

"More than at any previous time in the long decline of the curve of capitalist development since the mid-1970s," said Jack Barnes in his talk to the recent socialist conference, "it is becoming clear that the capitalist rulers have exhausted every alternative they've tried to reverse their declining rate of profit and open a new period — over several business cycles — of sustained economic growth."

Only a few years ago, he said, the bourgeois press and politicians were promoting the illusion that the collapse of Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and other workers states in Central and Eastern Europe would open vast new markets for capitalist investment and trade.

Just days after the June electoral victory of Boris Yeltsin in Russia's presidential election, however, Barnes said, the capitalists are "once again learning that answered prayers are often worse than unanswered prayers." The economic and political instability in Russia shows no signs of ebbing, he said.

Barnes's point was driven home in subsequent weeks by the stunning defeats dealt to Moscow's armed forces by the oppressed Chechen people. The U.S. rulers also fear the social and governmental crisis that could be sparked in Russia should the ailing Yeltsin suddenly die. And they are tactically divided over the potentially explosive political ramifications in Moscow of moves now afoot in NATO to include former Warsaw Pact countries not far from Russia's borders, such as Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

From the NATO occupation of Yugoslavia to unstoppable political explosions in the Middle East; from devastating recessions in Mexico and Argentina to double-digit unemployment in Western Europe; from ongoing rebellions by Irish freedom fighters to a renewed popular upsurge against the military dictatorship in Indonesia — recurring crises and sharpening class conflict show that no part of today's world is immune to the consequences of capitalism's depression conditions.

The only way left for the employing class and its government to try to relaunch a prolonged capitalist expansion, Barnes said, "is to deepen their assault on the working class and labor movement, in the United States

and worldwide. They have to qualitatively increase the rate of exploitation — lowering wages, slashing pension and other social security benefits, extending hours of work, and pushing back job conditions at the expense of the health and safety of workers and the public."

Since the mid-1980s, Barnes said, stiffening competition has forced the capitalists in the United States and other imperialist countries onto a course of cost-cutting — what they call "downsizing," or "re-engineering" — in order to take market share away from their rivals and try to boost their profit rate. They have used layoffs, speedup, wage cuts, and computerization of work processes to squeeze more profits out of fewer workers.

What has been shown by the continued slowdown in growth in recent years, Barnes said, is that these measures cannot ignite a self-sustaining increase in profit rates. "So-called downsizing is being exhausted," he said. "The pretense that computerization will raise what the bosses call 'productivity,' or that capital accumulation can be reignited in the capitalist economy as a whole by laying off more and more workers and other employees, is coming to an end."

Barnes cited an article in the July 5 *Wall Street Journal* with the summary headline, "Going for growth: Many firms see gains of cost-cutting over, push to lift revenues; but they find expansion into new products risky; some set off price wars; pressures from Wall Street." The reporter quoted one Wall Street businessman as saying, "Boosting profits through downsizing was easy; all executives had to do was take the heat from layoffs." The article continued: "The questions now, he says, are whether executives skilled at cost-cutting are also skilled at revenue-raising, and even if they are, whether profit growth will be equally strong."

Barnes had explained the underlying reasons for this deflationary deceleration of capitalist growth in the 1995 New Year's weekend talk that will appear in the book *Capitalism's World Disorder*. "The one thing the capitalists are not doing, and are incapable of doing," he said in that earlier talk, "is expanding productive capacity to anywhere near the degree they need to fuel another gigantic boom, set industrial profits rates on a long-term upward course, and accelerate capital-sustained accumulation."

"Even as capitalists temporarily boost their returns by cutting costs and taking a bigger slice of market share away from their rivals, their long-run profit expectations are such that they are still not investing capital

in new plant and equipment that draws more and more workers into expanded production. "The money that is going into new equipment goes largely into computerization and other means to make us work faster to produce more with fewer co-workers," he said. "That alone does not and cannot expand productive capacity, however. It intensifies speedup and extends the workweek. But it does not create the basis for the rising profit rates and capital accumulation that marked the post-World War II capitalist boom until it began running out of steam by the early 1970s."

As the socialist conference was taking place in early July, the Wall Street stock market was in the midst of a two-month-long decline that underlined the volatility of the debt-driven world capitalist economy. Prices on the pieces of paper called stocks and bonds have soared in recent years, Barnes pointed out in his talk to the conference, but with no basis in proportionately increasing production of real values.

This expanding balloon of credit and other paper values, he said, remains another point of growing instability for the capitalist system — one that can be tipped over the edge by sudden economic shocks such as a bank collapse or disastrous crop failure, or by war drives, wars, and other catastrophic political crises.

The capitalists in the United States and other countries have been trying for several decades to postpone a head-on confrontation with the working class and labor movement, Barnes said. They know at some point they will meet growing labor resistance, and that the outcome will only be decided in the course of gigantic class battles. The bosses have seen the heat lightning of that resistance time and again when they have pressed too far, too fast against workers and their unions in the United States, as well as in the wave of strikes and mass workers protests that swept France in late November and December of last year.

"But the employing class today is increasingly running up against the reality that they cannot fundamentally alter the relations between capital and labor just by letting real wages continue to slowly but steadily decline and chipping away at the edges of the social wage won by the working class."

Profit drive leads to disasters

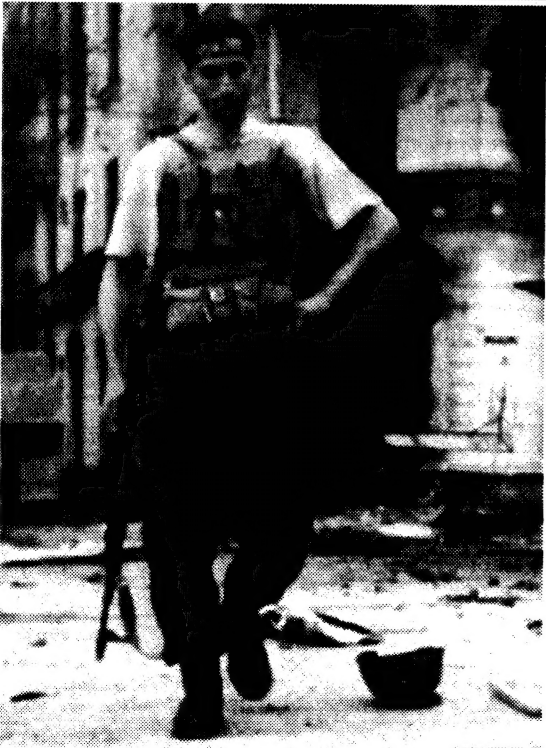
The consequences for health and safety of the employers' profit drive have been graphically illustrated by the TWA air catastrophe. Corporate greed, not bombs, is the overwhelming source of the growing dangers of air travel — and all travel — the world over.

The government and big-business bomb (or surface-to-air missile) fraud is coming apart more each day. The lack of any contrary evidence increasingly indicates that the source of whatever happened to TWA 800 lies in the "downsizing" and "slimming" so proudly proclaimed by the owners of TWA (see news article by a TWA worker elsewhere in this issue). As a result, the efforts

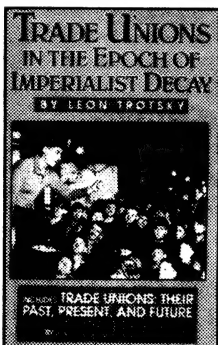
Continued on Page 14



Militant/Megan Arney



Imperialist rulers face world of growing instability and resistance by workers and oppressed peoples. Left, Chechen fighter on streets of Grozny after beating back Russian invaders in mid-August. Above, Chicano youth in San Diego join *La Marcha* to defend affirmative action.



TRADE UNIONS IN THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALIST DECAY
Leon Trotsky

Featuring "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future" by KARL MARX

THE EASTERN AIRLINES STRIKE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE RANK-AND-FILE MACHINISTS

Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan, and Jack Barnes

The story of the 686-day strike in which a rank-and-file resistance by Machinists prevented Eastern's antiunion onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. \$9.95

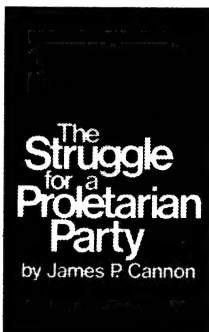


For Further Reading

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY

James P. Cannon

In a political struggle in the late 1930s with a petty-bourgeois current in the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon and other SWP leaders defended the political and organizational principles of Marxism. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. \$19.95



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

Youth return determined to defend Cuba

Continued from front page

on Cuba — featured visits to important sites in Cuba's revolutionary history, meeting people in the streets, going to factories, scientific institutes, hospitals, attending celebrations in honor of Cuban revolutionary heroes, and discussions with Cubans of all walks of life. The final two days were spent here in the capital. At a wrap-up meeting, participants heard a surprise address by Cuban president Fidel Castro.

The U.S. group included young people from MEChA, a Chicano student organization active in defending immigrant rights and affirmative action; high school-age Puerto Rican independence activists from Chicago; gay rights activists; and fighters for Black rights. Octavio Ruiz, originally from Chiapas, Mexico, also participated. The diversity of the group was reflected in the political discussions we had about the struggles each was involved in and how to link them together.

Youth stay with Cuban families

In Santiago, the city where a group — headed by Fidel Castro — launched the Cuban revolutionary struggle with an assault on the Moncada barracks on July 26, 1953, we stayed with families and engaged in an array of cultural and political events.

Katy, a 14-year-old high school student from Greensboro, North Carolina, commented, "Staying with families was the highlight for me. The people are so open. My host family didn't even know me but they took me in as one of their own." She added that this allowed her to meet ordinary Cubans and learn firsthand about life here.

A number of the individuals in the host families had been involved in the revolutionary struggle against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in the 1950s, either as combatants in the Rebel Army or as part of the underground movement in the factories.

One former guerrilla in the Sierra Maestra mountains said she was surprised and happy to have in her home a U.S.-born youth who supported the revolution and wanted to emulate it in the United States. "Now I know we are right, now I know we did not fight for nothing," she remarked. Neighbors would come to meet the visitors, ask them

questions, and bring messages of solidarity.

The group spent three days at the Giraldo Córdova Technical and Agricultural Institute in the town of Palma Soriano, northwest of Santiago. Calen, a high school student from Cleveland said that "staying in Palma was the first time I really got to talk to Cuban youth. Everyone I met was pro-revolution. Many of the people were farmers who had nothing before the revolution, which changed their lives." Participants also visited the banana fields that students at the agricultural institute were working in.

An open discussion was organized in Palma to give U.S. and Cuban youth a chance to exchange ideas and experiences. Vanessa Knappton described the demonstrations in Los Angeles for equal rights for immigrants. Octavio Ruiz related to the Cubans the conditions facing immigrants in the United States, as well as a little idea of the explosive peasant struggles in Chiapas. "Imperialism wants to take over all of Latin America," he said.

Discussion on democracy

Others asked the Cuban youth questions. "How is democracy advanced in a one party system?" asked Ryan Lewis from Cleveland.

Iraida, a member of the Cuba's National Assembly, answered, "In 1993 general elections were held and we had our first direct vote for the National Assembly of People's Power [Cuba's legislature]. Through grassroots People's Power meetings we take nominations of any local resident, and delegates are chosen in neighborhood elections. Elections involve many mass organizations that publicize and discuss the elections, such as the Federation of University Students, Central Organization of Cuban Workers, the organization of small farmers, and the Federation of Cuban Women. This means anyone — artists, poets, musicians, workers, professionals, students, or farmers — has an opportunity to be in parliament. Anyone elected who is not performing their duties can also be recalled."

Another Cuban got up and explained, "In the U.S. you have two political parties that are very similar. The candidates are chosen internally by the respective parties. In Cuba the Communist Party is not an electoral party. It doesn't run candidates in elections."

Another major issue in the discussion was gay rights. "Clinton was supposed to be the gay rights candidate," said Mari Aménette from San Francisco. "But according to him, you have no rights to be legally married to a gay partner. Gay parents are denied public assistance for their children because they are not legally married."

"So my question is," she continued, "having heard of an incident where a gay woman got brutalized here by police, what organizations exist here for gay youth?"

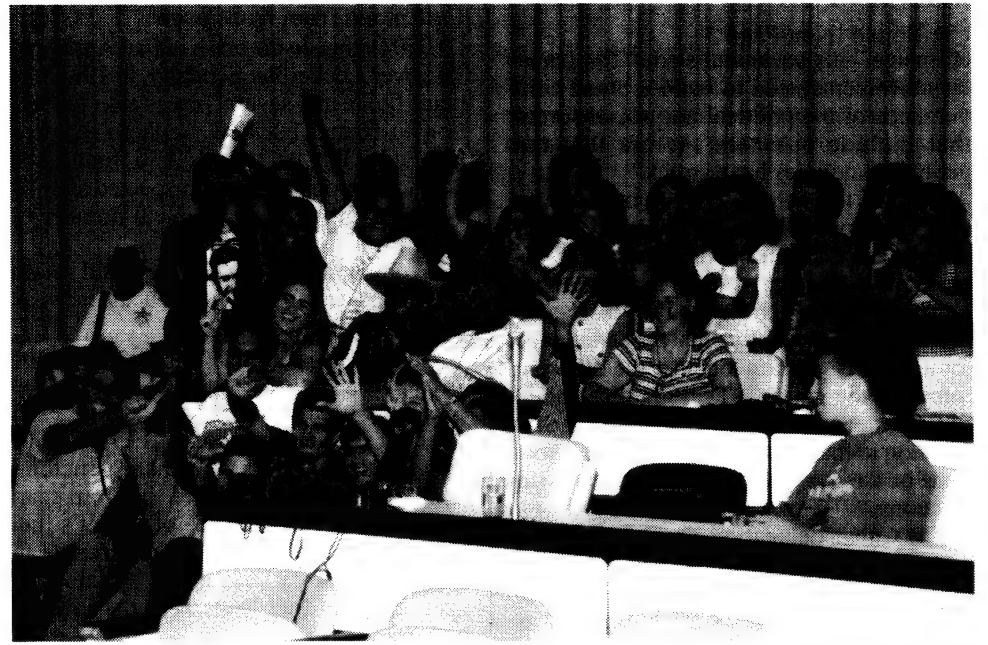
A member of the Havana-based Center for Studies of Youth replied, "Gays in Cuba are victimized at times. Those unfortunate examples should not be used to generalize everything. There are gay rights groups in Cuba. The center I work for deals with combating prejudice and attacks on gays. It is a problem that Cuba has and is dealing with."

Visit to Guantánamo

In Guantánamo province, Youth Exchange participants met with soldiers from the Border Brigade at the Cuban base, on the edge of the U.S.-occupied territory where Washington maintains a naval base against the will of the Cuban people. One soldier was asked why she chose to join the military since it is not mandatory for women. She said that everyone in Cuba needs to know how to protect the revolution. She smiled and added, "And I want to be able to do whatever the men do."

The U.S. youth held a number of informal discussions, including one on the speech Castro gave at the national July 26 celebration in Holguín. That day, thousands of people had mobilized in Holguín and cities around the country to celebrate their revolution.

Millions — including some of the Youth Exchange participants during their stay in Santiago — listened to Castro's July 26 speech on television. Among other challenges and achievements of the Cuban people, the revolutionary leader discussed the victory of the recently completed sugar harvest, which was significantly bigger than the last several harvests, registering a recovery after six years of sharp economic decline. This economic crisis, known here as the "special period," was sparked by the



Militant/Brian Taylor

US-Cuba Youth Exchange participants at the Convention Palace in Havana

collapse in aid and trade at favorable prices with Soviet bloc countries.

The trip finished at the Convention Palace in Havana with a meeting where members of the delegation evaluated the experience and discussed what they had learned.

'I want to bring others to Cuba'

Eli Johnson from Minneapolis said he had never been out of the United States before. "When I started attending the Twin Cities Cuba Network meetings and dispelling my ignorance, I really began giving my support to revolutionary politics," he said. "In Cuba I was surprised by the perseverance of the people. I plan to be active in the Cuban cause and bring others here to see it."

Mai Thong Yang from Davis, California, whose family is from Laos, said, "The U.S. government promised the Hmong people many things. They promised us a homeland, a place to live in peace. I knew nothing else outside of capitalism until I met the Young Socialists. They told me about this trip. The U.S. lied to my family, lied to my people. I owe \$17,000 in loans for my college and I have no health insurance. No, Cuba is not a paradise, but people here are equal. There is a democracy."

Milbia Rodríguez, who left Puerto Rico three years ago to go to school at the University of Minnesota, noted, "I wanted to see Cuba for myself. I heard both sides of what Cuba was supposed to be. Cuba is an example for the world, including the U.S. and Puerto Rico. I want to go to the world youth festival next year and bring at least 5 other people with me."

David Turner, a 19-year-old student at the University of Minnesota, said, "I was more of a social democrat before going on this trip. Now I think that to make real change it is necessary to change the whole system."

When Fidel Castro joined the discussion, he began by saying he would not address the U.S. delegation as "comrades" because he did not want to be misinterpreted. He then gave a talk in defense of socialism and the

Cuban revolution, explaining why they are taking a number of measures to turn around their current economic crisis.

"You are a reflection of a worrisome situation facing [people in] the United States," Castro told the youth delegation. "You live in the greatest school in the world, the school of capitalism, and you know it better than anyone because you live inside it."

Castro explained that there was no need for Cubans to export their revolution to the United States because the social conditions generated by capitalism push people to revolutionary conclusions and bring some to see an alternative, which is Cuba.

"Why are we being blockaded?" the Cuban president asked rhetorically. "To destroy an example perhaps?"

At the end of his talk, noting the applause he got for the anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and pro-revolution themes in his speech, Castro said, "Well, maybe now I will have to call you potential comrades-in-arms!"

Back in the United States, Youth Exchange participants have returned full of energy and ready to make good on the promises they made in Cuba. In New York they have set up a speakers bureau where young people from different organizations and different experiences in Cuba will work together to scour the city talking about their trip to anyone who will listen: in churches, private homes, coffee shops, poetry slams, and high schools, on the radio, through written articles, and on television.

In Chicago, young people returning from Cuba are making a banner demanding, "No to Helms-Burton" and "End the blockade of Cuba." They will be carrying the banner in the protests planned at the time of the Democratic National Convention August 25 and 27. There they will also hand out leaflets to build the World Festival of Youth and Students taking place in Cuba next summer.

Brock Satter, Joshua Carroll, and Stephanie Trice contributed to this article.

Youth returning from Cuba detained at Chicago airport

CHICAGO, Illinois — On August 6, twenty-one young people returning from Cuba with the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange were detained by Immigration and customs officials at Chicago's O'Hare airport. Although the 21 youth were fully-hosted by the Federation of University Students (FEU) and legally visited Cuba, they were held under the pretext of having traveled to an enemy country.

Officials brought out a drug-sniffing dog and body searched a participant who is Black, Damon Tinnon, for illegal substances. After being held for two and a half hours, customs agents made photo-copies of everyone's passports and letters from FEU that explained the trip was fully-hosted. Before releasing the youth, customs agents informed them that the U.S. State Department will carry out an investigation.

In response to this harassment, the Chicago Cuba Coalition put out a media alert to inform newspapers, radio and television stations that Youth Exchange participants are available for interviews about the trip and to protest the harassment by government officials upon their return.

The Twin Cities Cuba Network held a press conference August 13 where six youth spoke about the trip and condemned the actions by government officials. Channel 2, the local PBS affiliate, and Channel 4, the local CBS affiliate came. In addition, a reporter from the *Minneapolis Spokesman*, a newspaper with wide circulation in the city's Black community, attended and arranged an interview with one of the youth.

The rest of the participants on the Exchange came through U.S. immigration and customs at the Nassau airport in the Bahamas and did not face similar harassment.

—JACK WILLEY

Miami travel agency is firebombed

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — In the early morning hours of August 1 a firebomb was thrown into the office of Marazul Charters in the southwest section of the city causing \$5,000 worth of damage. Marazul, a travel agency that focuses on travel to Cuba, has been in existence for 17 years and has offices here and in New Jersey. Over the years it has been the victim of threats and attacks by rightists who oppose travel or any kind of dialogue with the Cuban government.

Armando García, vice president of operations for Marazul, said that while the agency has been a target because it facilitates travel to Cuba the recent firebombing was most likely aimed at Francisco Aruca, Marazul's owner. Aruca is also the host of "Yesterday in Miami," a daily program on the Spanish-language station Union Radio. He has used the show to oppose the U.S. economic war on Cuba and call for dialogue with Havana.

"The [firebombing] was more directed against freedom of expression," said García. "In recent days Aruca has dealt in his program with the problem of intolerance in Miami." Among the recent actions Aruca discussed and opposed on his radio show was a violent protest in April

by right-wing Cubans outside a concert by jazz pianist Gonzalo Rubalcaba and the tossing of a molotov cocktail in July through the window of the restaurant *Centro Vasco* in Little Havana where an appearance of the Cuban singer Rosita Fornes was to be held. Both performers were vilified by right-wingers here because they refuse to attack the Cuban revolution.

Pointing to opposition to these rightist assaults, including among Cubans, García said many clients and friends called in and stopped by Marazul's offices to offer solidarity and show they were not intimidated.

In New International no. 10

Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution

MARY-ALICE WATERS

\$14.00

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write: Pathfinder, 110 West St., New York, NY 10011. Tel: (212) 714-0090. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3.00 cover shipping and handling.

São Paulo Forum meets in Salvador

Continued from Page 3
ernments," his statement said. "The popular movements need to build a broad convergence of the political and social forces that include business sectors that the neoliberal policies have struck."

Most of the political parties at the gathering, led by the PT of Brazil, the PRD of Mexico and the FMLN pointed to bourgeois elections as a vehicle for social change. Victor Tinoco from Nicaragua's FSLN also backed this view, stating that "the challenge for the left is to bring together the different forces of the nation." These parties called for alliances between organizations that function in the workers movement and sections of the capitalist class in order to win elections.

The Cuban delegation circulated a statement with a different view. The key question, it noted, is the question of power. The system of bourgeois democracy, it said, "was not conceived so that the left could participate fairly and equitably in the electoral process, and much less so that it could take power, but to prevent that."

Many parties on the left in Latin America have won mayoral elections, governorships, and sizeable number of seats in national parliaments. "Nevertheless," the Cuban statement noted, "they still have not been able to become the government through the electoral road with their own program of profound changes and the conditions to carry it out."

What is needed is a political program "that lays out the foundations for taking power and building socialism."

The statement concluded that the "Communist Party of Cuba is convinced that the only road to achieving democracy, social justice, and sustainable development is the construction of a socialist society."

The final declaration noted that different perspectives were presented and discussed on these questions.

Crisis in Argentina

Little discussion took place in the course of the formal sessions of the Forum on resistance to capitalist austerity in the continent, such as the ongoing struggle for land by peasants in Brazil or strikes by workers in Argentina.

But many forum participants talked about the resignation of Domingo Cavallo, the Argentine Minister of Finances, in informal discussions. Cavallo, viewed by many here as the foremost proponent in Latin America of "neoliberalism," was forced to resign on July 26. "His resignation was ultimately the result of the 'Tequila Effect,'" said Patricio Echagaray, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina, referring to the massive flight of imperialist capital from Latin America in the wake of the devaluation of the Mexican peso in December 1994. Mexico's economy subsequently contracted 7 percent, the most since 1932, during the great depression. Argentina's foreign currency reserves, like those of other Latin American nations, were virtually wiped out. The Argentine government of Carlos Menem has been attempting to woo back investors through further belt-tightening.

As the Forum was opening, 30,000 workers in Buenos Aires protested Menem's austerity policies. Two weeks later, hundreds of thousands struck across the country.

The Forum took note of the growing immigration from Latin American to the United States and a recent rise in the struggles for immigrant rights in that country. Angela Sambrano, representing CISPES, gave a special presentation at the Forum on the subject.

"In the United States," she said, "they accuse immigrants of being the cause of the economic crisis and other evils." But the number of Latinos in the United States are growing and could have decisive weight, she added. "We have the capacity to be a political force."

Sambrano co-chaired a workshop on immigration. Participants decided to back the October 12 march in Washington, D.C., for immigrant rights.

Among other activities delegates decided to support and help build is the upcoming World Festival of Students and Youth to be held in Cuba next summer. The delegates also voted to support the struggle for self-determination and independence for Puerto Rico.

The next meeting of the Forum was set for São Paulo, Brazil.

Safety is real issue in TWA crash

Continued from front page

20,000 flights. In the crash of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, the plane broke into several pieces after its Section 41 frames buckled. Acohidio reported that "the TWA jet, with 16,870 flights, last had its Section 41 frames inspected after its 14,687th flight, with a typical number of cracks found and repaired."

Acohidio said a loose engine could smash into the plane's fuselage and buckle its weak Section 41 frame.

Another safety question relates to the 747's leaky fuel tanks, which can develop over time on aging jets. "A standing FAA directive requires operators of 190 747-100s to upgrade fasteners in a main structural member of the wing, called the front spar, which also forms one side of the jet's fuel tanks," Acohidio wrote. "Fatigue cracks can develop in the fastener holes on the front spar, creating fuel leaks near the inboard engines."

Back in 1991 Boeing warned that such "fuel leakage can cause a fire."

Acohidio added that "airline and federal aviation officials have said the TWA jet

complied with all FAA directives, but decline to say whether that meant the jet was on an inspection schedule or had undergone the fastener-hole upgrade."

The only other time a 747 jet exploded in mid-air was in 1976. The 747 was owned by the Iranian military and exploded near Madrid. No cause was ever determined for this crash but it was reported that lightning could have triggered an electrical spark from a fuel system pump.

Last year, another incident just now coming to light, occurred in Singapore. The 747 jet, owned by Japan Air Lines, was being refueled when it caught fire. The electrical insulation for one of its 14 fuel pumps shorted out and ignited fuel, according to the *New York Times*.

The August 8 *New York Times* reported the FAA will issue a new ruling soon that would "require regular testing and possible replacement of fuel pumps on the huge jets. The pumps — there are 14 on each 747 — have been shown to be prone to leakage."

Claiming this has no connection to the crash of Flight 800, the *Times* continued, "The agency [FAA] has been working on the new rule for months, and the timing of its release is not related to the TWA crash. But tests have shown many pumps to be susceptible to the problem."

In 1976, following the Madrid crash, the FAA ordered 747 wings checked for fuel leaks. Most found leaks and the FAA ordered upgrades. But the jet that crashed July 17 was owned by Iran's military at the time and was exempt from civil aviation rules. Boeing spokesman Doug Webb would not say whether the fuel system upgrades were made once the plane was repurchased by

TWA in December 1976. Acohidio revealed that the pilots of TWA 800 reported "an erratic fuel gauge" just before the crash.

As part of its cost-cutting drive to shore up declining profit rates and outbid competition, TWA has not invested in new aircraft. The average age of the company's fleet has grown to nearly 20 years and for its Boeing 747 fleet it is 25 years.

Airline workers are quite familiar with the detrimental effect of this profit drive on aircraft maintenance and safety, as crews get smaller and the bosses impose dangerous speed up.

We have also felt the brunt of the employers' assault on our living standard. TWA has been in and out of bankruptcy twice in the past eight years. In November 1994, after TWA emerged from bankruptcy, workers made concessions to the tune of \$660 million in exchange for 45 percent "ownership" of the company. New hires on the ramp, most of whom start part-time, make less than 50 percent of top pay. Vacations have been cut and pensions are frozen.

The latest example of how the companies' profit drive undermines safety is the recent announcement by Delta Air Lines. The August 9 *New York Times* reported that the company plans to start a "budget, no frills airline" called Delta Express. "To make money," the article said, "Delta Express must chop labor costs and cut the time it takes to load and fuel a plane to 20 minutes from almost an hour."

Nancy Rosenstock is a member of the International Association of Machinists and works at TWA in Newark, New Jersey.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES

Cuba Today: Workers in Power. Report back by participants in U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange: Vanessa Knapton, Ramón Muñoz, Edmundo Fernández. Fri., Aug. 23, 7:30 p.m. *Pathfinder Bookstore*, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (two blocks west of Vermont).

Classes: Sat., Aug. 24, State and Revolution 10 a.m.; Prospects for Socialism in the United States, 1 p.m. For more information, call (213) 380-0460.

SOUTH DAKOTA

PINE RIDGE

Memorial and Dedication of Headstones for Anna Mae Aquash and Joe Stuntz. They were native-American activists who perished on Pine Ridge Reservation and supported the struggle of the Lakota people. Tue., Aug. 20, 12 noon. 11.5 miles north of Pine Ridge at the Little Family cemetery. For more information, call: Edgar Bear Runner (after 5 p.m.) (605) 867-1644; Melvin Lee or Jim Robideau (605) 867-5821; June Little (605) 867-5296; or Dolores Collins (605) 332-5295; Lisa Faruolo of Leonard Peltier Defense Committee (913) 842-5774.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, *Nueva Internacional* and *Ny International*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Mailing address: Suite 252, 267 West Valley Avenue Zip 35209. Tel: (205) 323-3079. Compuserve: 103402,1231

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. Compuserve: 74642,326 **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255, 285-5323. Compuserve: 75604,556

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Compuserve: 103171,1674

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 803 Peachtree NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759. Compuserve: 104226,1245

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 1223 N. Milwaukee Ave. Zip: 60622. Tel: (312) 342-1780. Compuserve: 104077,511 **Peoria:** 915 N. Western. Zip: 61650-0302. Mailing address: P.O. Box 302. Tel: (309) 676-2472. Compuserve: 104612,147

IOWA: Des Moines: 2724 Douglas Ave. Zip: 50310. Tel: (515) 277-4600. Compuserve: 104107,1412

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772. Compuserve: 103426,3430

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Compuserve: 104127,3505 Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 Univer-

sity Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Compuserve: 103014,3261

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341. Compuserve: 104216,2703

NEW YORK: Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220. Tel: (518) 465-0585. **Brooklyn:** 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064,2642. **New York:** 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 328-1501. Compuserve: 104075,35 ; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996. Compuserve: 103475,672.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150. Compuserve: 103253,1111

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Compuserve: 104502,1757 **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785. Compuserve: 103122,720

TEXAS: Houston: 3260 South Loop West. Zip: 77025. Tel: (713) 349-0090. Compuserve: 102527,2271

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 209 E. 300 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124. Compuserve: 76714,1545

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Av.). Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. Compuserve: 75407,3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Compuserve: 74461,2544.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055. Compuserve:

WASHINGTON'S "Anti-terrorist" Campaign?

Speaker: J.D. Wheeler, American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois; Angela Lariscy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress (18th C.D.); Tim Gabrielsen, Death Penalty defense attorney. Fri., Aug. 23, 7:30 p.m. 915 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$. (309) 676-2472.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

What's Behind the Bipartisan Assault on Welfare Programs? Speakers: Maggie Pucci, Socialist Workers 1996 campaign representative. Fri., Aug. 23, 7:30 p.m. 1930 18th St. N.W. (18th and Florida N.W., entrance on Florida). Donation: \$. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

70543,1637

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297. Compuserve: 102174,1243

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993. Compuserve: 101515,2702

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369. Compuserve: 104614,2606

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324. Compuserve: 103474,13

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343. Compuserve: 103430,1552

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21. Compuserve: 73504,442

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: 552 5502. INTERNET: gphssg@treknet.is

NEW ZEALAND

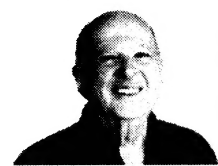
Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075. Compuserve: 100035,3205

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055. Compuserve: 100250,1511

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

You have to see their side — Three Haitian employers responding to accounts of superexploitation: 1) "I operate a business, not a charity." 2) "All we have to



Harry Ring

offer is our cheap labor." 3) "Our workers are weak and anemic and produce only 60 percent of what workers sew in the U.S."

The new order — Emergency

fuel was rushed to the far eastern region of Russia when an abrupt end to government fuel subsidies brought a crippling power blackout. The governor rushed to Moscow to demand a solution. He ruefully told a reporter: "No question can be resolved here. Some of the government ministers are still celebrating [Yeltsin's] victory, others are on holiday and the rest are sitting on their suitcases waiting to be sacked."

Share food fairly? Isn't that communist? — A UN report on the global food shortage observed that sharing the world's food more fairly would "probably eliminate most cases of undernourishment."

Greed on Wall St.? — Since the TWA crash, companies marketing bomb detectors or security services find their stocks are doing well. Wall St. analyst Alfred Goldman explains: "These stocks have become the investments du jour. Greed has taken over the market place..."

Ode to the Last Fool — Continues analyst Goldman: "This appeals to the 'greater fool' theory. You buy it for \$15 because there's always someone who will buy it from you at \$20." He adds: "Just make sure you've had a cardiovascular exam first."

Jobs program — *Jobsearch*, a mag placed in government employ-

ment centers in England, includes offers for work as prostitutes. After a Labor Party complaint, the Tory government ordered it withdrawn. Earlier, the top dog at the Employment Service declared it was not up to the agency to "censor publications or deny job-seekers access to the widest range of opportunities."

Generic endorsement? — England's venerable Cambridge University is accepting a £1.5 million (U.S.\$2.3 million) donation from BAT, a top global cigarette pusher. The money will establish an international relations professorship named after BAT's former chairman. A Cambridge official assured: "The university does stress that this

decision does not endorse the product of a particular manufacturer."

Join the Space Cadets — Check out Celestis Inc. for a space burial. But bear in mind, cargo space is limited, and a cremated body can weigh seven pounds. So, about a quarter-ounce of your ashes will be tucked in a lipstick-size container and, with others, placed in a larger container and stowed aboard a commercial spaceship. Under \$5,000.

Thought for the week — "Bankers might be thought to have souls of glass and hearts of stone, but we are human beings." — Gustavo Gómez. On the lam in Europe, he and buddies are wanted in Venezuela for looting Banco Latino.

'Epoch of imperialism has explosive character'

The excerpts below are taken from Pathfinder's new edition of *The Third International after Lenin* by Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky. Written from exile in Soviet Central Asia in 1928, this work is a defense of the proletarian course that had guided the Communist (or Third) International in its early years. For almost six decades it has served as a weapon in the arsenal of Marxism.

The main component of the book is a criticism of the draft program presented by

BOOK OF THE WEEK

Nikolai Bukharin and Joseph Stalin to the International's Sixth World Congress, held that year in Moscow. In doing so, Trotsky explains the evolution of world politics following World War I and of the Soviet regime under Stalin, and poses the tasks facing the international communist movement.

Smuggled out of the Soviet Union by North American communist leaders James P. Cannon and Maurice Spector, delegates at the Sixth World Congress, this work helped gather together the forces to continue the fight for a communist perspective.

Leon Trotsky was part of the central leadership team of the Bolshevik Party, from the time of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, and of the Communist International in its early years. Following Lenin's death in 1924, he became the principal leader of the Left Opposition, formed to wage a battle against the social forces led by Stalin and to defend the communist perspective Lenin had fought for.

The excerpts below are copyright © Pathfinder Press and are reprinted by permission.



BY LEON TROTSKY

In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, i.e., of world economy and world politics under the hegemony of finance capital, not a single communist party can establish its program by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country. This also

holds entirely for the party that wields the state power within the boundaries of the USSR. On August 4, 1914,¹ the death knell sounded for national programs for all time. The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism.

An international communist program is in no case the sum total of national programs or an amalgam of their common features. The international program must proceed directly from an analysis of the conditions and tendencies of world economy and of the world political system taken as a whole in all its connections and contradictions, that is, with the mutually antagonistic interdependence of its separate parts. In the present epoch, to a much larger extent than in the past, the national orientation of the proletariat must and can flow only from a world orientation and not vice versa. Herein lies the basic and primary difference between communist internationalism and all varieties of national socialism....

Politics, considered as a mass historical force, always lags behind economics. Thus, while the reign of finance capital and trust monopolies already began towards the end of the 19th century, the new epoch in international politics which reflects this fact, first begins in world politics with the imperialist war, with the October Revolution, and the founding of the Third International.

The explosive character of this new epoch, with its abrupt changes of the political flows and ebbs, with its constant spasmodic class struggle between fascism and communism, is lodged in the fact that the international capitalist system has already spent itself and is no longer capable of progress as a whole. This does not mean to imply that individual branches of industry and individual countries are incapable of growing and will not grow any more, and even at an unprecedented tempo.

Nevertheless, this development proceeds and will have to proceed to the detriment of the growth of other branches of industry and of other countries. The expenditures incurred by the productive system of world capitalism devour its world income to an ever increasing degree. And inasmuch as Europe, accustomed to world domination, with the inertia acquired from its rapid, almost uninterrupted growth in the prewar period, now collides more sharply than the other continents with the new relation of forces, the new division of the world market, and the contradictions deepened by the war, it is precisely in Europe that the transition from the "organic" epoch to the revolutionary epoch was particularly precipitous.

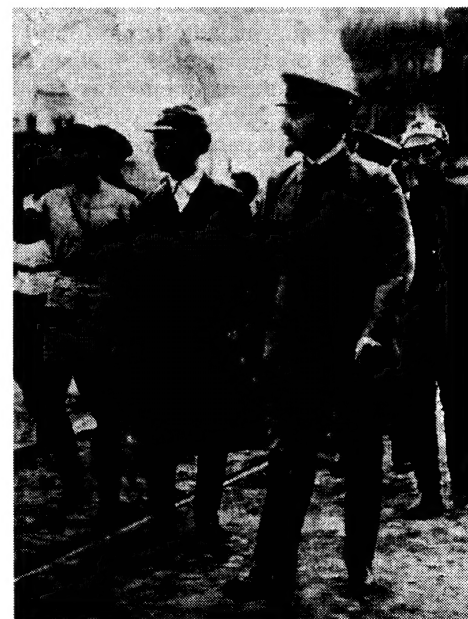
Theoretically, to be sure, even a new chapter of a general capitalist progress in the most powerful, ruling, and leading countries is not excluded. But for this, capitalism would first have to overcome enormous barriers of a class as well as of an inter-state character. It would have to strangle the proletarian revolution for a long time; it would have to enslave China completely, overthrow the Soviet republic, and so forth. We are still

a long way removed from all this. Theoretical eventualities correspond least of all to political probabilities.

Naturally, a great deal also depends upon us, that is, upon the revolutionary strategy of the Comintern. In the final analysis, this question will be settled in the struggle of international forces. Still, in the present epoch for which the program was created, capitalist development as a whole is faced with insurmountable obstacles and contradictions and beats in frenzy against them. It is precisely this that invests our epoch with its revolutionary character and the revolution with its permanent character.

The revolutionary character of the epoch does not lie in that it permits of the accomplishment of the revolution, that is, the seizure of power at every given moment. Its revolutionary character consists in profound and sharp fluctuations and abrupt and frequent transitions from an immediately revolutionary situation; in other words, such as enables the communist party to strive for power, to a victory of the fascist or semifascist counterrevolution, and from the latter to a provisional regime of the golden mean (the "Left Bloc," the inclusion of the social democracy into the coalition, the passage of power to the party of MacDonald, and so forth²), immediately thereafter to force the antagonisms to a head again and acutely raise the question of power.

What did we have in Europe in the course of the last decades before the war? In the sphere of economy—a mighty advance of productive forces with "normal" fluctuations of the conjuncture. In politics—the growth of social democracy at the expense of liberalism and "democracy" with quite insignifi-



Trotsky (right) inspects Red Army troops

cant fluctuations. In other words, a process of systematic intensification of economic and political contradictions, and in this sense, the creation of the prerequisites for the proletarian revolution.

Notes

¹ On that day the Social Democratic Party of Germany voted in parliament for a resolution granting war credits to the German government. That move was soon repeated by social democrats in France and a number of other countries.

² The "Left Bloc" in France included the Socialist Party and the bourgeois Radical Party. Ramsey MacDonald was the leader of the Labour Party in Britain.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Price 10¢

September 3, 1971

San Francisco — La Marcha de la Reconquista, the march of the reconquest, organized around five demands of the Chicano movement, ended an 800-mile-long march from Calexico in southern California to the state capital in Sacramento Aug. 7.

The end of police occupation and brutalization of the barrio, an end to the use of La Raza youth as cannon fodder for the gringo war in Southeast Asia, and an end to the forced deportation of La Raza were three of the demands of La Marcha.

Two demands were directed toward the state's welfare and Economic Opportunity programs, which have suffered sharp cutbacks recently. La Marcha demanded that Governor Reagan cease his cuts of funding of Chicano studies programs and student organizations, and that the welfare cuts to Chicano and Latino families be stopped.

Rosalio Muñoz of the Chicano Moratorium pointed to the need to mobilize La Raza in independent action against the war when he spoke at the rally. La Marcha, the rally, and the activities which were held in the following week are an example for Raza activists who are building the Sept. 16 Mexican

Independence Day of action.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

August 24, 1946

In the South African gold mines fabulous fortunes are amassed by the British absentee bondholders. The rapacious British ruling class squeezes enormous wealth out of the enslavement and exploitation of the native mine workers, who produce more than half the world's gold. But for the mine toilers themselves, there is nothing but filth, disease, and barbarous living conditions, comparable only to a concentration camp.

Inside the mines, the natives labor 14 hours a day thousands of feet below the surface, in unhealthy and unsanitary conditions.

Native mine workers are indentured servants. They are forced to sign contracts to work in the mine from 18 months to two years. They sleep 50 in a room on concrete bunks. The food is usually unfit for human consumption.

For the period of their contract, they are cooped up in these prisons. South African "Pass Laws" govern and restrict the daily lives and freedom of all natives.

Under these conditions the average native miner manages to live only about five years in the mines.

It was against these conditions that the 50,000 miners struck for union recognition and a \$2 daily wage.

Pathfinder Readers Club: 25% off

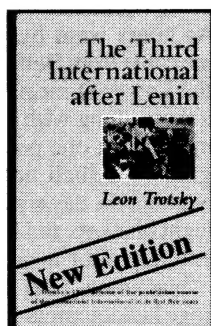
The Third International after Lenin

by Leon Trotsky

A revolutionary defense of the Marxist course that had guided the Communist International in its early years. Trotsky addresses the key challenges facing working people today: building communist parties throughout the world capable of and willing to lead the workers and farmers to take power.

Special \$19.50 (Regular \$25.95)

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax: (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.



Help put SWP on the ballot!

The socialist movement scored a victory with the completion of petitioning drives to place James Harris and Laura Garza on the ballot in Alabama, Iowa, New York, and the District of Columbia.

Fighting to get the socialist ticket on the ballot in every state possible has long been an important political campaign of the communist movement. It is one of the central ways to present a working-class alternative to the reactionary policies of the Democrats and Republicans. It is how many people first get an explanation of the capitalist economic crisis, how to build a movement capable of fighting to defend our class around the world, and why we need a revolutionary struggle for a government of workers and farmers.

Socialists organize ballot access fights in response to reactionary and undemocratic legislation that severely limits the right of working-class parties to appear on the ballot. State governments require most third parties to collect thousands of signatures. In William Clinton's home state of Arkansas the requirement is 21,000; in sparsely populated Kansas, home to Republican nominee Robert Dole, working-class parties need 16,000 signatures to appear on the ballot. The total number of signatures required to get on the ballot in all 50 states is over 750,000.

These signature requirements are just the beginning. Filing fees, voter registration requirements, arcane procedures, and other measures are a feature of these reactionary laws as well.

In fighting to get out their ideas, socialists respond to these obstacles by turning it into an opportunity to reach out in the broadest way possible. Through the ballot drives new members have been won to the Young Socialists, hundreds of revolutionary books and pamphlets distributed by Pathfinder have been sold, along with thousands of copies of the *Militant*. Campaign supporters have distributed tens of thousands of copies of socialist campaign flyers and statements. Seeking to get on the ballot in as many states as possible is also crucial to a communist organization's fight for legality.

Campaign supporters can push forward this effort by volunteering for the next efforts in Rhode Island, Texas, and Vermont.

Capitalist crisis

Continued from Page 10

by the U.S. rulers and big-business press to stir up a "terrorism" scare have increasingly fallen flat.

When Clinton introduced "antiterrorist" legislation in Congress, Gingrich was able to posture as the defender of civil liberties of the U.S. people by organizing to vote down the White House proposal to increase government wiretapping powers.

The ValuJet crash near Miami and the engine explosion on a Delta plane during takeoff earlier this year are just two more recent examples of the rising toll and disasters waiting to happen that result from the airline companies' "cost-cutting" on maintenance — something the employers and capitalist media are trying their best to cover up. It is the cause of rail, ferry, automotive, and other industrial disasters both in the United States and elsewhere.

In the 1995 New Year's talk, Barnes explained that class-conscious workers must insist that the labor movement not be complicit in this profit-driven breakdown. "As conditions of work get worse, as hours, increase, as wages go down, there are a few workers who find themselves beginning to say: 'I don't give a damn. It's not my job. Let somebody else take care of it. The devil take the hindmost.'"

"The union officialdom's example in life encourages such cynicism among a few in the ranks. It is the other side of pulling together to help the fortunes of 'our company,'" Barnes said.

"But class-conscious workers must take such questions as safety as seriously as their character deserves. Labor must convince broad layers of the population as a whole that it is the working-class movement above all that cares about these questions. We must be able to assert with complete confidence and integrity that the stronger, the more militant, and the more democratic the union, the safer the operations of the industry, whatever it may be. This is a fundamental matter of class pride, of self-respect, of the morale of the working class. It is a question of the working class taking the moral high ground in the battle against the exploiting class and for human solidarity."

Militant summer schedule to end

With the next issue, no. 31, which will be printed August 29, the *Militant* will return to its weekly publication schedule. Distributors should be sure to get their orders for that issue in no later than noon Tuesday, August 27. Calendar announcements must be in by noon the following day.

Irish fighters push back loyalists

Continued from Page 16

political prisoners. Significantly in Derry and several other towns the Social Democratic and Labour parties joined the protests. In villages and towns threatened by loyalist marches, residents groups have mushroomed bringing in a new generation of activists.

The Bogside Residents Group (BRG) presented a joint negotiating platform with the residents groups from Lower Ormeau, Belfast, and Garvaghy Rd., Portadown. Their aim was to reach an agreement that would apply to all Apprentice Boys marches in Northern Ireland in areas they were unwelcome. After a year of refusing to talk, Apprentice Boys leader Alistair Simpson agreed to meet Bogside residents July 26. In the end, no agreement was reached.

The Bogside residents responded by organizing a mass demonstration for the evening of August 9, prior to the Apprentice Boys march the next day, with the goal of entering the city walls.

To counter the possibility of this action forcing the re-routing of the Apprentice Boys march, Northern Ireland Secretary Patrick Mayhew ordered a part of the walls sealed from August 7 till the end of the month. The British Army moved in and erected barbed and razor wire and concrete bollards around the section of the walls that overlooks the Bogside, thus preventing the loyalists from marching the entire city walls. The Bogside residents said they'd rather resolve the issue by negotiation with the Apprentice Boys than the intervention of the Army.

Resistance pushes back loyalists

Some 10,000 people turned out for the Bogside residents march on the night of August 9 from several Catholic areas to the centre of Derry. "We are here to assert our right to national equality and assert that we are not second class citizens," said Maeve McLaughlin.

Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness told the rally, "We have never enjoyed the parades, we have never enjoyed the Orange triumphalism and we have never accepted second class citizenship. We say to the Orange Order and the British government - enough is enough. It's got to stop." The RUC blocked a small loyalist counter-demonstration coming from the predominantly Protestant Fountain estate.

Another rally called for the day of the Apprentice Boys parade was canceled when it became clear that loyalists had failed to march through any of the disputed routes on the way to Derry. Before coming here every year, Apprentice Boys march a short way through their local town prior to mounting buses to Derry.

In Dunloy, for example, a 95 percent Catholic village where various loyalist groups attempt to march 16 times a year, Apprentice Boys got off their buses, paraded a short distance on the edge of the village, and got back on the buses. In Newtownbutler, members of the Royal Black Perceptory — another Orange organization — marched out of their hall, away from the village, played *God Save the Queen*, and left. In the Lower Ormeau, Belfast, the RUC had banned the loyalist parade. Similar agreements were reached in a number of villages, some brokered by residents groups, some by the RUC.

Some 15,000 loyalists arrived in Derry for the main parade, which passed off relatively peacefully. The rightists made no attempt to march through the sealed-off section of the city walls overlooking the Bogside.

After the Apprentice Boys finished their parade, Donncha MacNiallais summed up the outcome. "The issue is obviously not resolved. But it is now clear that they can no longer march where they want, when they want. Their days of lording it over people are gone for good."

As the evening went on, news began to come through of nationalist resistance to loyalist marchers returning from Derry. In Dunloy, 400 residents sealed off their village. According to the *Irish Times*, "residents armed with hurley sticks [a large wooden club used in the Irish sport Hurling] and plastic tubing barricaded roads in the village with burning skips and felled trees." When 30 coaches of loyalists returning from Derry converged on the area, the RUC prevented them reaching the sealed-off village in a four-hour stand off. In Bellaghy, a major confrontation developed (see article on page 16).

Back in Derry, word got around about the stand taken by nationalists in Bellaghy and the RUC violence against them. A mostly young crowd began to gather in the streets. Sporadic scuffles with the RUC continued through the night. According to BBC news, the police fired 20 rounds of plastic bullets. People began discussing the possibility of getting help to Bellaghy. Deirdre McDaid a leader of the Bogside Residents Group and also a member of Sinn Fein Youth commented, "No longer are small isolated communities going to remain alone to face the RUC and Orange Order." The *Irish News* reported that residents groups in a number of villages concluded that now they would not consent to any loyalist marches next year.

Thousands march in Belfast

While the resistance at Bellaghy continued through August 11, 10,000 nationalists marched in Belfast on the 25th anniversary of the re-introduction of internment in the north. During the four years it was in force, from 1971 to 1975, over 2,000 people, in their vast majority nationalists, were arrested and held in jails or special camps, without trial. Some were held a few months, others for years. All were beaten and many tortured.

The marchers converged on City Hall in Belfast, despite last-minute attempts by loyalist politicians to get the action banned from the center of the city. This was only

the third such anti-internment march to have won the right to go downtown. Speakers from Britain, the United States, and the Basque country addressed the rally. Gerry Adams congratulated the people of the Lower Ormeau and Garvaghy Rd. for their determined defence of their communities, and called for solidarity with the villagers in Fermanagh and Antrim who were taking a stand against loyalist marchers. He said the issue that weekend was not marching but "triumphalism, trampling over other peoples' rights."

Dodie McGuinness of Sinn Fein, elected for West Belfast in the May elections, told the rally, "This problem of triumphalist parades is a symptom of a greater problem; Britain's involvement in Ireland and the creation of the six-county state for Unionists. We should never forget that those responsible for all our problems are the British government and John Major. That we still face this annual crisis is a measure of the failure to find a negotiated solution." She said the cease-fire had collapsed "under the weight of British intransigence." McGuinness also pointed to the failure of the Irish government in Dublin, which has "a constitutional and moral duty to ensure the rights of all citizens of the island are upheld."

"Sinn Fein stands shoulder to shoulder with you in demanding equality of treatment, in demanding parity of esteem, in demanding our democratic and national rights in demanding that the British government leave the people of the island in peace," she told the demonstrators.

The next series of marches in the north will take place the last weekend of August, when another loyalist group, the Royal Black Perceptory, will stage parades in a number of towns and villages.

The resistance to the loyalist marches has overshadowed discussion of the "peace talks," which are currently in recess until September, and showed that the crisis of British rule over Northern Ireland has intensified. Most people *Militant* reporters interviewed said there will be no progress in any negotiations if Sinn Fein continues to be excluded from the talks. As Dodie McGuinness told demonstrators in Belfast, "There can be no return to the failed policies of the past. The croppies [nationalists] are off their knees."

Anne Howie is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union in Manchester, England. Caroline Bellamy and Pete Clifford contributed to this article.

Bellaghy residents fight cops, rightists

Continued from Page 16

to police lines shouting "SS-RUC" and "No sectarian marches" as the Apprentice Boys and their band were escorted by the RUC throughout the village.

According to the residents, the band's banner showed that it was not from Bellaghy but from Margherafelt, a town several miles away. The Apprentice Boys were taken by bus to and from Bellaghy, proving this was an outside provocation.

Two people were sent to the hospital, one with a broken leg, and countless received bruises. "This was the most vicious assault we have faced; they showed no mercy, they held us down while they beat us on the neck, backs and legs," said Paul Smith, the Bellaghy Residents Spokesperson. "They are the Orange Order's police force." Maria O'Neill described how her finger was hit by RUC batons against a Land Rover. "They went out to hurt us," she said. In response to the RUC assault, some protesters threw stones and bottles at the cops and Apprentice Boys.

After the episode, residents did not feel despair but pledged to go back the following day to prevent another loyalist parade from marching throughout their village.

The following day during a rally after the massive anti-internment march in Belfast, Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, saluted the residents of Bellaghy for resisting, shining a spotlight on this village.

On August 11, Bellaghy became a focal point of attention throughout Northern Ireland. By 3 p.m., 250 protesters sat down on the main street to stop the Royal Black Perceptory march. Some 60-70 Land Rovers and more than 1,000 RUC cops on foot plus helicopters accompanied the rightists.

As hours went by, more people joined the stand-off. Some came from Belfast and Dunloy. Gerard Rice, a leader of the Lower Ormeau Road's Resident Group in Belfast, was there along with Francie Molloy, a national leader of Sinn Fein. At one point there were about 550 protesters singing "We shall not be moved." The stand-off lasted throughout the day and night. "It was like a carnival, people brought blankets and Irish music played," said Paul Smith. Eventually after negotiations between the residents and the "blackmen," the latter were allowed to walk to the Orange headquarters in the middle of the village and back. But their band did not play.

The sit-down protest lasted 19 hours until Monday morning, August 12. The "blackmen" were unable to march throughout the village. To loud cheers and sustained clapping, Francie Molloy addressed the nationalist community. "What this is about," he said, "is equality of treatment for nationalists."

Summing up the achievement of the weekend, Paul Smith told the *Militant*, "This is a major victory... People are very jubilant... We have to stand together again."

'Summer of strikes' extends across Winnipeg

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important

home workers are currently picketing 10 homes around the province.

At the Tache Nursing Centre in St. Boniface, Joe Laivey, a resident of the home, was on the picket line in his wheelchair. "I'm supporting them. They've been out for five weeks. We're getting fed up with the Conservative government. Something has to be done. When the

sino picketers reported that four striking grocery workers brought copies of their strike bulletin to the casino workers' picket line. On July 23, hundreds of nursing home and casino strikers attended a joint fund-raising benefit at the Winnipeg Convention Center.



Militant/ Bob Cantrick

Casino workers walk picket line in Winnipeg, Canada, July 23.

ON THE PICKET LINE

struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

WINNIPEG—Hundreds of unionists in at least four separate union locals are walking picket lines here. This is on top of the 900 members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) who struck Boeing Canada, Winnipeg Division, July 11 over seniority rights.

"Welcome to the summer of the strike!" said picketers outside the Club Regent casino. Six hundred members of the Manitoba Government Employees Union (MGEU) have been on strike against the government-run casinos and entertainment centers since June 25.

The workers are demanding a raise, better job security, and improved pension provisions. Starting wages may be as low as \$6.20 per hour, many positions are part-time and casual, and casino workers do not receive the same benefits as other MGEU members. Many workers are young. For most this is their first strike.

"They want us to work on Christmas, Easter and Remembrance Day," said picketer Marilyn Moschenross. "And then you hear complaints about the breakdown of the family unit! Those are pretty basic holidays." Jason Sykes said many strikers are skeptical about government promises to funnel casino profits back into health care. They suspect funds have gone into general revenues instead.

"This is the only way we're going to get respect, to stand as one, like we've been doing for four weeks," said another striker.

In addition, hundreds of nursing

strike first started, I didn't have a bath for two weeks."

The government is proposing a 2 percent wage rollback and is refusing to implement previously agreed-to pay equity provisions, which would raise the hourly rate on some job classifications by \$0.65. The raise would primarily benefit women workers. "It's been too many years that the government's been doing this. People are tired of it," said Amelita, a nurse's aide.

This walkout comes on the heels of a province-wide strike by 3,000 home-care workers in April and May, which forced the government to put off privatization plans for a year.

Sandra Chartrand, a non-union home care support worker described a union action at a March 21 town-hall meeting featuring Premier Gary Filmon at a local university. "It was quite a night. The university staircases and everything were packed. I believe he [Filmon] got quite a jolt when we stood up and said we're not losing our jobs like that. We're not that stupid." Home care support workers are currently signing union cards.

MGEU staffer Anne Gregory reported there had been such a large demand for lawn signs to support the home-care strike that printers ran out of cardboard.

At the same time, 150 members of Local 469 of the Retail and Wholesale Workers Union, a division the United Steelworkers of America, are on strike at three locations since mid-April against Westfair Corporation.

Strikers and other unionists have brought solidarity to the picket lines. Bob Phillip, area chairperson of CAW local 550 at CN rail, said CAW members from his local helped picket a nursing home. Ca-

Kmart workers ratify first contract

GREENSBORO — "It's great we got the union in the door," said Sheila Craddock, a second shift worker at the Kmart distribution center here, and a member of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) Local 2603. After three and a half years of fighting, workers voted July 25 to accept a three-year contract. The union held a celebration picnic August 3, which drew a few hundred workers, friends, community supporters, and local politicians.

The contract includes two more paid holidays, eight more paid hours off after one year of employment, and wage raises of \$.50, \$.75, and \$.75 over the next three years. The starting wage is now \$7.75. When the distribution center opened in April 1992 the starting wage was \$5.75. The company agreed to continue medical and dental insurance with no payroll deductions.

The contract fight was characterized by workers organizing marches, break room protests, brief work stoppages and prayer meetings inside the warehouse. They had numerous plant gate rallies. In November 1994, the union struck for a week. A year later, the union launched a public boycott of Kmart stores that was supported by the Pulpit Forum, an African-American ministers coalition, students, and other organizations in Greensboro.

"I think we're a little stronger now since the contract was passed," remarked John DeBerry who has worked at Kmart for four years, and was part of the original union organizing drive. "I voted for it. I thought we fought long enough. I thought we should take what we won now and build on it. It was a victory for the union to win this contract. The three-year fight was not

so much worth it to me as to those coming behind me. Now they don't have to go through what I did."

The union's campaign had centered around the demand for basic wage parity, particularly the top wage, compared to the other 12 distribution centers, and the same number of holidays and paid time off as the others. The Greensboro facility had been the lowest paid of all, and the union argued this was due to discrimination against a largely Black, Latino and Asian workforce.

The ranks turned back three separate company organized decertification petitioning drives. In the last decertification effort, the company pushed newly hired immigrant workers, mostly Mexicans, to sign against the union, but most refused.

The victory brings the first union contract at a Kmart "hard line" warehouse. In September 1993, 550 workers voted two-to-one to be represented by UNITE. The company refused to negotiate seriously after the vote, trying instead to destroy the union. The "soft line," or clothing distribution centers, are largely covered by contracts with UNITE.

Some workers voiced opposition to the contract, objecting to the ban on work stoppages, on protests inside the facility, and on strikes during the life of the agreement.

"I voted no," said Mike Thompson, a union activist who participated in the numerous civil disobedience actions at the Kmart stores. "After the Presbyterian national

convention announced they were going to support our boycott of Kmart and would discuss withdrawing their 200,000 shares of Kmart stock, I thought now was a good time to go out and hit the stores hard for another month. But it was the people's vote and I got over it. Now we should just move forward with all the brothers and sisters, and not sit down. The company will continue to attack us on the job. Now we can also participate in helping others, whether it's here in the community or in other labor struggles."

Union escalates postal dispute in UK

The executive committee of the Communications Workers Union (CWU) in the United Kingdom announced August 6 a decision to call five 24-hour strikes. CWU general secretary Alan Johnson, said Royal Mail had refused negotiation talks during the weekend of August 2-4.

Richard Dykes, Royal Mail's managing director, told London's *Financial Times* he would pressure the union officialdom by appealing directly to the 140,000 postal workers. London is seeking to privatize the Post Office, change working conditions and impose job cuts.

Katy Le Roux and Bob Cantrick in Toronto; and M.J. Rahn and L. Paltrineri, members of UNITE Local 2603 in Greensboro, North Carolina, contributed to this column.

LETTERS

'Militant' on tape

Readers and distributors of the *Militant* should know that there is an edition of the *Militant* on cassette tape that is available for people who are blind, visually impaired, or dyslexic. The tape subscription is offered to those who, because of their impairment, are legally qualified to receive postage-free tapes in the mail.

Following are some comments that have come in recently from subscribers to the paper's tape edition.

Loren Schmidt of Iowa City, Iowa, writes:

"A couple of brief thoughts about the role of the *Militant* in enabling me to be more effective talking with other workers.

"Although I read other periodicals, it's clear that the *Militant* is the single most important and accurate in terms of giving me a sense of what's happening.

"But there's an even more important facet of this and that is that the news it contains are encouraging. Before I began reading it, and related material like the issues of *New International*, I had very little sense of the resistance others are putting up, and nothing of the theoretical framework which people are developing."

Roger Bailey from Charleston, West Virginia, writes:

"I have been a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and of the *Militant* for 24 years, the last eight of which I have been blind. Without the *Militant* on tape it would be necessary for me to rely solely on the capitalist media as my only source of information. So I would be in the dark about many of the working-class struggles going on about me in the world today. That is why I appreciate this service very much."

And Claude Decoret from Lyon, France, wrote that he enjoys listening to the tape and is acquiring "a better understanding of the American accent."

The tape edition of the *Militant* is recorded and mailed by volunteers in Seattle, who receive the text by e-mail from New York. The tapes are mailed to subscribers within 48 hours from the time of publication.

If *Militant* distributors meet anyone who might be interested in a subscription to the tape edition, their name and address should be sent in to the *Militant* business office [see address on page 2]; they will receive a sample copy of the paper on tape in the mail. Or they can simply subscribe at the same rate as for the printed edition.

Jim Miller
Seattle, Washington



Ireland coverage

Enclosed is a renewal for my *Militant* as well as a new subscription for my cousin Brian. Brian is in the third year of a 20-year sentence for doing his part in the struggle for freedom in the northeastern occupied counties in Ireland, and has expressed interest in the paper. He is presently in the H-Block of the Long Kesh prison in northeastern Ireland. I have also sent him a copy of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban*

Revolutionary War. Thank you and please keep up the excellent coverage on Ireland and all who continue the struggle fighting for equality throughout the world.

Michael Cavan
Palo Alto, California

Protest against Buchanan

Twenty-five people picketed outside a Republican party fundraising dinner for a local congressional candidate at the Rosebud restaurant in

Pittsburgh July 11. The dinner featured Patrick Buchanan as the keynote speaker. The picket line, which was initiated by the Western Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, drew activists from the Campus Coalition for Peace and Justice (an anti-police brutality group), National Organization for Women, the 14th Ward Democratic Club, International Socialist Organization, the Young Socialists, and SWP.

Spirited chanting of slogans such as "Patrick Buchanan go away, immigrants are here to stay," and "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate" forced the organizers to close the large doors of the restaurant that are customarily left open in the summer.

The local CBS affiliate along with reporters for the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette* and KQV radio interviewed participants in the protest.

Sandi Sherman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Irish fighters push back loyalists

BY ANNE HOWIE

DERRY, Ireland — "Orange rule has ended," Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams told thousands at the end of a demonstration in Belfast August 11. Adams was referring to the achievements of nationalist protesters that weekend in Derry and several villages in Northern Ireland. The nationalists stood up to loyalists and forced them to reroute their marches away from predominantly Catholic areas — signaling that British rule of the six counties of Northern Ireland is now facing a mounting challenge in the streets.

The initial focus of attention was Derry, where the main Apprentice Boys march of the year was scheduled for August 10. The rightist demonstration ostensibly commemorates the closing of the gates of the city walls by 13 Protestant Apprentice Boys against the Catholic army of James II in 1689. Unionist leaders and the pro-British press portray the Apprentice Boys and other loyalist demonstrations as representing one of two traditions in Northern Ireland, defending their right to march wherever they want.

But the loyalist actions are aimed at preserving the caste-type system through which Protestants are treated preferentially to Catholics. This system is the keystone to British rule.

Residents of the mainly Catholic Bogside area of Derry today vividly recount their experiences when the Apprentice Boys marched around the city walls before the British Army closed them off in 1969. As the march came to the section of the walls overlooking the Bogside, the loyalists would hurl insults and pennies to the "poor" Catho-

lics in the ghetto below. Many Catholic families would leave town for the weekend, to avoid the intimidation and humiliation that accompanied the march. "These parades are sectarian and represent the domination of one community by another," said Donncha MacNeill, spokesperson for the Bogside residents.

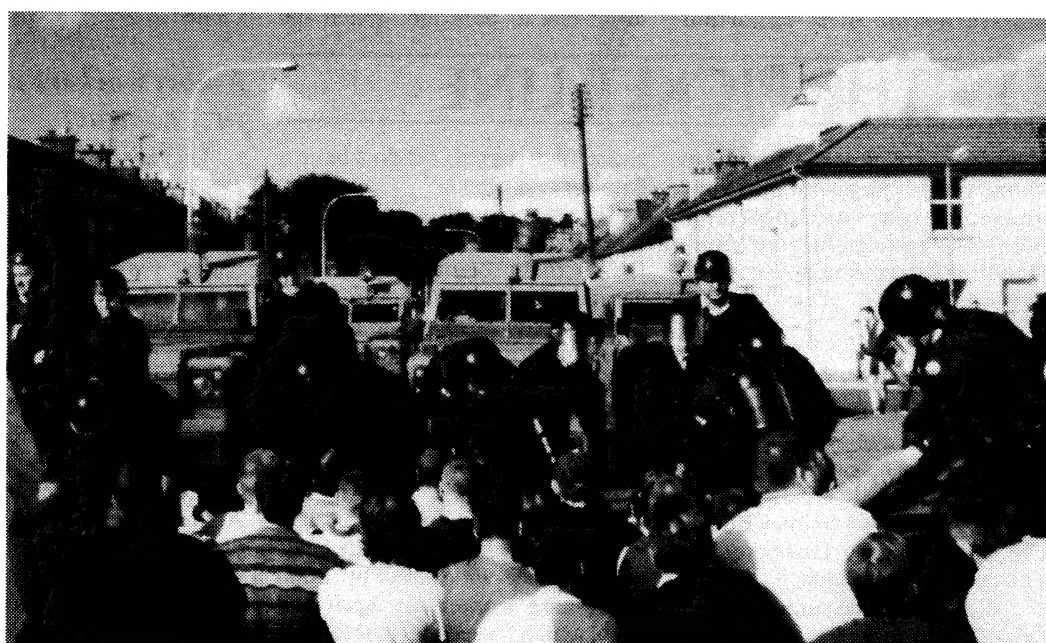
Following the May 1994 cease-fire between the Irish Republican Army and the British occupiers, the walls were re-opened. Last year nationalists attempted to block the march by sitting on the walls, until they were dragged off by the Royal Ulster Constabulary police (RUC). After that experience the Bogside Residents Group was set up and sought negotiations with the Apprentice Boys over this year's action.

Revulsion against July 12 assaults

The Bogside residents' fight gained a boost from the widespread revulsion to the vicious assaults on Catholic protesters by rightist street gangs with the complicity of British armed forces on July 12. At that time the RUC escorted Orange Order parades through Catholic areas at Garvaghy Road in Portadown and Lower Ormeau Road in Belfast, sparking staunch resistance by residents. The media beamed graphic images around the world of the RUC beating nationalists and showering them with plastic bullets.

In response, demonstrations took place throughout Northern Ireland — the largest actions since the 1981 hunger strikes by Irish

Continued on Page 14



Militant/Pete Clifford

RUC cops assault Bellaghy residents holding sit-down protest against rightist march

Residents fight off rightists, cops in Bellaghy, N. Ireland

BY JAMES NEIL
AND JEAN-LOUIS SALFATI

BELLAGHY, Northern Ireland — "To be kicked around for so long and now to win is brilliant," said John O'Neill, a member of the Bellaghy Residents Group. He was expressing the jubilation of hundreds of Irish nationalist protesters who stopped the loy-

alist right-wing group Royal Black Perceptory from marching through the whole of this predominantly Catholic village on Sunday, August 11.

Bellaghy is a small village in County Derry with a population of roughly 700, some 35 miles away from Belfast. More than 90 percent of the inhabitants are Catholic.

The previous day, the Royal Ulster Constabulary police (RUC) viciously attacked residents and escorted the Apprentice Boys, another loyalist group, throughout the village. That was the fifth time this year loyalists marched inside the village and faced protests from residents.

Around 6 p.m. on August 10 five armored RUC land rovers and 40 to 50 RUC officers advanced towards some 150 protesters. Some 50 Apprentice Boys returning from Derry were behind, awaiting the cops to clear the road. Seventy protesters sat down, linked arms, and chanted "No sectarian marches!"

The RUC approached the protesting residents and without warning began to physically remove them, indiscriminately hitting them with their batons. While beating the residents, the RUC officers shouted "fenian bastards," the derogatory name the RUC uses to describe nationalist fighters. The cops tried to sandwich people on the road as another Land Rover appeared behind the protesters and people had to jump over garden fences and walls and run down side streets to escape.

Protesters came back several times close

Continued on Page 14

Thousands riot against Indonesia gov't

BY BOB MILLER

On July 27 cops in Indonesia assaulted 150 supporters of Megawati Sukarnoputri, an opposition bourgeois politician, which triggered one of the largest anti-government demonstrations in decades. Demonstrators called the police "dogs" and "monkeys" and shouted "Democracy!"

According to the *Washington Post* thousands of protesters burned buses and cars, set banks and government buildings ablaze, and took control of a key thoroughfare in the capital of Jakarta in a brazen display of defiance against Indonesia's military-led regime. "Today's outburst seemed to shake the well-cultivated image of Indonesia as a politically stable nation," the *Post* noted.

On the morning of July 27, police forcibly evicted supporters of Megawati from the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), sending 37 people to the hospital. Megawati's backers had occupied the office for a month since the regime engineered her ousting as PDI leader, replacing her with a lackey of President Suharto.

As word spread on the raid, thousands of demonstrators filled the streets across from the riot cops, singing, chanting and throwing rocks. Some shouted, "the military are killers," and "hang Suharto."

Australia's *Sydney Morning Herald* reported, "the protesters were clearly ordinary workers, confirming the fears of many political commentators that the gap between the rich and poor is reaching a level where stability can no longer be maintained."

Twenty two buildings and 91 cars and buses were reported burned. The Indonesian Legal Aid Society reported as many as 7 deaths and 93 injuries. More than 200 people were arrested. On August 6 the police said they were continuing to detain and interrogate 154 people after arresting 249. The day following the rebellion, troops armed with automatic weapons patrolled the streets. General Sutiyoso was quoted saying "We have issued orders to shoot if there are any attempts to disturb order."

Suharto has ruled Indonesia for 30 years with an iron fist since leading the overthrow of president Sukarno in 1965. Sukarno was

Indonesia's first president following independence from the Netherlands in 1949. Megawati is Sukarno's daughter.

In the mid 1960's the government oversaw the massacre of some 500,000 people alleged to be Communist Party members after crushing what it termed an attempted Communist coup. The PDI is one of the two officially sanctioned "opposition" groups in Indonesia. Neither of these parties have fielded a challenger to Suharto in the six elections since the '65 coup. However, Megawati had hinted she might oppose the 75-year-old Suharto in 1998.

The Suharto regime has taken the offensive against a range of political and union activists. Among those arrested are Muchtar Pakpahan, the leader of an independent labor union who faces a capital charge of treason. The government also arrested Budiman Sudjatmiko, a 26-year-old, leader of the People's Democratic Party. According to the *New York Times*, this group drew publicity earlier this year by organizing factory strikes

for higher wages. Seven members of Indonesian Students for Democracy were arrested in central Java.

A spokesman for Megawati said she did not offer any statement of encouragement for those who faced riot police in her name adding she would pursue her party quarrels in the courts.

Following the clash, stock prices in Indonesia fell 6 percent and the currency, the rupiah, plummeted 1.2 percent, to a one-year low. *Business Week* pointed to Indonesia's susceptibility to financial shocks because of its huge \$100 billion foreign debt.

"If Indonesia erupts, Asia will shake first, but the world soon afterwards," headlined an editorial in the *Economist*, pointing to the impact of developments in this country of 195 million. "Turmoil there would produce tremors from China to Australia," the article added. "Given the scale of foreign investment in the country (\$4.5 billion in 1995 alone), it would also shake the boardrooms in Tokyo, New York and London."

Cyprus: Turkish troops attack protesters

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Turkish troops and their supporters attacked an August 11 demonstration of Greek Cypriot motorcycle riders who were protesting the military occupation of northern Cyprus. One Greek Cypriot was beaten to death and 50 others injured in the melee that occurred along the 112-mile United Nations-patrolled demarcation zone that separates the Mediterranean island into Greek and Turkish Cypriot sectors.

Greek Cypriot president Galfcos Clerides condemned the killing as "yet another barbaric violation of human rights by the Turkish occupation forces." Ankara invaded Cyprus in 1974, occupying the northern third of the island.

The bikers protest began nine days earlier in Berlin and involved a delegation of 200 international cyclists who were traveling to meet 7,000 Greek Cypriot riders. The delegation included 10 bikers from 14 coun-

tries in Europe, 40 bikers from Greece, and a few from Canada and the United States. The demonstration originated in Berlin, organizers said, because that city was divided until the Berlin Wall fell in 1989.

When protesting bikers broke through the barbed wire barricades erected by UN troops they were besieged by volleys of rubber bullets and buckshot fired by Turkish forces. Members of a nationalist Turkish group, the Grey Wolves, joined in and beat demonstrators.

Tensions have simmered between Athens and Ankara over Cyprus as well as a territorial dispute involving mineral deposits in the Aegean Sea. On January 31, Greek and Turkish fleets came within minutes of opening fire on each other. More than 20 ships from both countries were deployed for war moves four miles off the Turkish coast. The Associated Press reported that both regimes have been upgrading their military forces

in recent months.

The Greek and Turkish governments have been competing for oil pipeline deals with Moscow and other former Soviet republics.

At the same time, Turkey's prime minister Necmettin Erbakan met with Iranian leaders August 12 in Tehran and signed a \$23 billion deal to import natural gas from Iran. The pact defies recent U.S. legislation that penalizes companies investing in the oil or gas industries of Iran or Libya. "Turkey will not permit any third country to interfere in the growing trend of cooperation between Turkey and Iran," Erbakan said in an interview with Turkish and Iranian reporters.

According to the *Financial Times*, Ankara "has been pressing Washington to relax the embargo on Iraq," which would allow Baghdad to "export 200,000 barrels a day to Turkey — half the country's oil needs."